

THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

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THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

(A Quarterly Record of Anthropology and Folk Culture)

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THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

With the present issue, again a Double Number, we complete Vol. X of the Eastern Anthropologist. As we have indicated in our previous communication in this section, financial reasons have stood in the way of issuing 4 separate numbers and we still do not have adequate provision for printing illustrations, maps and charts, which often are indispensable. The rising cost of production of the Journal, due to the increase in prices of paper and cost of printing, is becoming a focal point of concern and we are trying to overcome these practical difficulties, though as yet we have not finalised our plans. In any case, we expect to issue 4 numbers of the Journal beginning with the next volume, and we expect our subscribers to cooperate with us to enable us to do the job as we want to do it. We do receive a lot of material for publication, but we can only take care of a part of the material that we receive. Let us assure our contributors that we would publish any material that our referees consider worth doing so, but it may take longer time which under the circumstances is unavoidable.

* * * *

The Department of Anthropology has been working with depleted staff, due to three of its members having gone abroad for further studies. Mr. D. K. Sen is working in London University on Anthropological Serology under the supervision of Professor A. M. Maurant D.Sc. Mr. K. S. Mathur is now giving final touches to his research assignment in the Australian National University, Canberra. Mr. T. N. Madan who is also a recipient of an Australian National University fellowship, is working in Kashmir for his dissertation which he proposes to submit at Canberra next year. With three permanent members of the staff away the Department must be limping, but we are also certain that when these members of the Department return from their foreign study tours, the Department will benefit by their research competence.

* * * *

The Cornell-Lucknow research project which initiated the Dudhi study has been completed on May 31st 1957. Towards the later stage, the programme Evaluation organization of the Planning Commission came to the rescue of the department and provided the necessary finances for the completion of the project. The material is now being processed and two trained investigators, working at another research centre have been requisitioned to check up the data collected by the team of investigators we had earlier appointed for the study. This we think, is a necessary precaution in view of the *ad hoc* nature of such inquiries. The field work has a wide coverage, and not only the problems faced by the C.D.P. and the attitude of the people towards the C.D.P. and their participation inquired into, but a lot of ethnographic data have been collected which are expected to add flesh and blood to the picture that we are likely to present.

* * * *

Mr. S. K. Anand who has worked as supervisor of the Jaunsar Bawar Evaluation Scheme (financed by the Planning Commission) has joined the Indian Administrative Services to which he was appointed through a competitive examination. We want to record our appreciation of the valuable work Mr. Anand has done for the Jaunsar Bawar Project. His achievements were not confined to his assignment, he had assisted the Director in several research projects, and his absence is being felt most particularly when we are processing the field material and writing up the report. Mr. C. T. Hu, a research fellow of the Department, succeeds Mr. S. K. Anand as supervisor, Jaunsar Bawar Project.

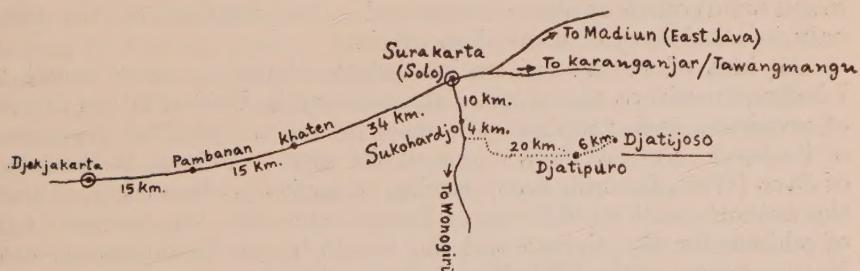
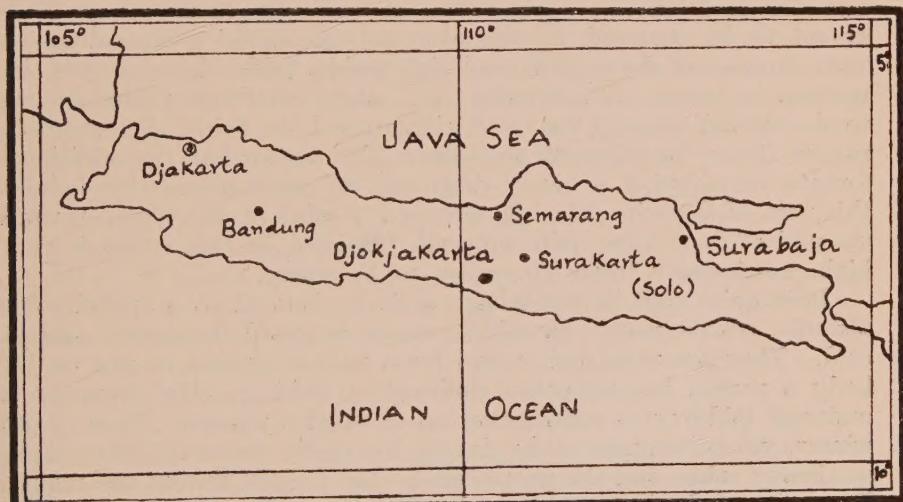
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The Radio-Carbon date of the Rupkund specimens sent to the University of Michigan Memorial, Phoenix Project Radio-Carbon Laboratory, for evaluation has been found to be 650 years with a range of 150 years on either side, i.e. 650-150 years. This has been communicated by Prof. James B. Griffin, Director of the Museum of Anthropology, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A. Prof. H. R. Crane of the Radio-Carbon Laboratory, who has run the material for dating, has said that 'the specimens were an excellent and consistent run, and the date should be valid'. The absolute dating of the bones, which, for all practical purposes, we may take to be correct within the range of error indicated, pushes the antiquity of the Rupkund finds to the beginning of the 14th century, at any rate not earlier than the twelfth or later than fifteenth century. This dating puts a lid to the controversy, that has been going on in the press, and categorically disproves the existing theories about the Rupkund litter of bones.

SOME NOTES ON A CENTRAL JAVANESE VILLAGE

CHANDRA BHAL TRIPATHI

The author got an opportunity to live and study the life in a remote hilly village in the province of Central Java in Indonesia in June, 1956. There is a rich variety of topographical conditions in this lovely country. In Java itself there are parts so different from each other in regard to climate, topography and cultivation as well as cultural and linguistic factors. Hence, except for certain general facts the present account should not be regarded as holding good for a typical Javanese or even a Central Javanese village.



Dukuh	:	Margoredjo
Desa	:	Djatijoso
Ketjamatan	:	Djatipuro
Kewedanan	:	Djumapolo
Kabupaten	:	Karanganjar
Keresidenan	:	Surakarta (Solo)
Propinsi	:	Djava Tengah (Central Java).

Desa (village) Djatijoso is 40 kilometres southeast of Surakarta (Solo), the famous town and seat of culture in Central Java. To go to Djatijoso you have to take the *pukka* road that goes southward from Surakarta to Wonogiri. At a distance of 10 kilometres from Surakarta on this road is Sukohardjo, a small town. Proceeding 4 kilometres beyond Sukohardjo you have to leave the *pukka* road and drive on a *kuchcha* road for 20 kilometres more or less eastward in a jeep to reach Djatipuro, an important village being the centre of a *Ketjamatan* (under-district) of the same name. Djatijoso is only 6 kilometres from Djatipuro more or less eastward. But there is no regular path for a vehicle beyond Djatipuro and only a jeep can be taken to Djatijoso from Djatipuro by an expert driver. The whole journey from the point, where the *pukka* road is left by a traveller to Djatijoso, is, however, an exciting experience as he is bound to be charmed by the extremely beautiful surroundings—a vast expanse of deep green and rich paddy fields, dense groves, innumerable brooks and streams, and later, circuitous paths leading to the upland through the small villages and the fields, the mountain ranges visible far off on all the sides. The author had the additional fortune of enjoying a heavy downpour of rains almost throughout this part of the trip although such heavy rains in this region toward the end of June were quite unusual. Rainfall in this region is very high, particularly from November to February.

It is quite cold in the village as it is situated at a considerable altitude, yet the people have little means to guard themselves against cold. They are poor and except for a pair of clothes to put on his body a person has no other clothing or bedding. He sleeps on a mattress laid over a rectangular cot of wooden planks. There is no winter, yet it becomes colder during November-February when there are heavy rains, and the people sit by the fireside during the nights. The walls of the houses are made of mattresses and the houses are raised about one foot above the ground. The furniture is to be found only in the homes of some desa officials.

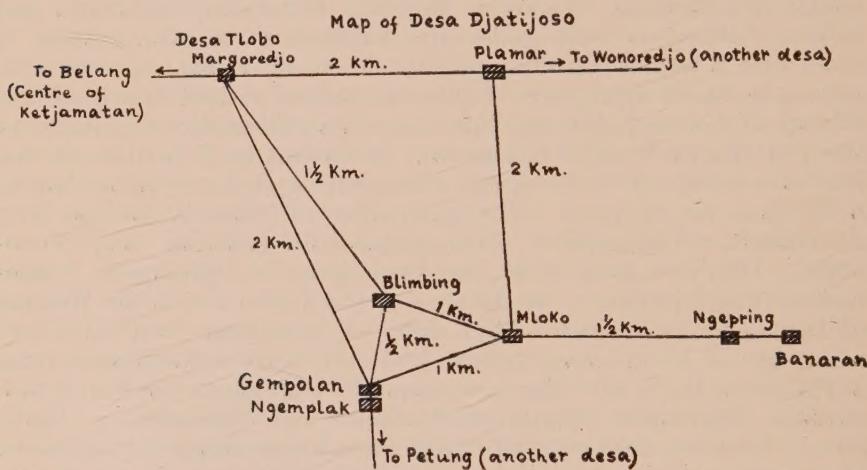
An idea of the administrative set-up of the country would be, I believe, useful at this stage. The country is divided into a number of propinsis, each propinsi (province) having a Gubernur (Governor) as its head. Central Java is one of the three provinces in the island of Java (West, Central, East), having its capital at Semarang. During the author's visit to this region Bung (=brother, the common word of address for the highest and the lowest in the Indonesian society) Mangunnegoro of the PNI (Partai Nasional Indonesia) was the Gubernur of Djawa Tengah (Central Java)¹. A propinsi is divided into a

¹ In Indonesia members of political parties are permitted to hold government offices. In fact, the influence of the political parties, both ruling and opposition, upon all the branches of the government is considerable and is regarded by some as a great obstacle to political and administrative stability and efficiency.

number of keresidenans, each keresidenan having a Residen (Resident) as its head. Central Java has eight keresidenans : Semarang, Surakarta, Djokjakarta, Banjumas, Kedu, Pati, Djepara, Rembang and Pekalongan. Djatijoso falls under the keresidenan of Surakarta which has its headquarters in Surakarta itself. The Residen of Surakarta was Bung Salamun of the Masjumi Party (the liberal Muslim party led by Bung Mohammad Natsir) during the author's visit. A keresidenan is divided into a number of kabupatens, each Kabupaten having a Bupati (derived from the Sanskrit word Bhupati=King). Surakarta has eight kabupatens : Sragen, Karanganjar, Sukohardjo, Wonogiri, Bojolali, Kotabesar, Surakarta and Klaten. Djatijosa falls under the kabupaten of Karanganjar, a town with a population of about 30,000 and at a distance of 30 kilometres north of Djatijoso. While the author visited Djatijoso, the Bupati of Karanganjar was Sdr. (sandara=comrade) Singoladro of the PSI (Partai Sosialis Indonesia). A kabupaten is further divided into a number of kewedanans (districts), each kewedanan having a Wedana as its head. The kabupaten of Karanganjar has four kewedanans : Djumapolo, Karanganjar, Karangpandan and Wonoardjo. Djatijoso falls under the kewedanan of Djumapolo, 8 kilometres from Djatijoso. At the time of the author's visit the Wedana of Djumapolo was again a PNI man. A kewedanan is divided into a number of ketjamatans (under-districts), each kejamatatan having a Tjamat as its head. The kewedanan of Djumapolo has four ketjamatans : Djumapolo, Djatijoso, Djatipuro and Djumantono. Djatijoso is, however, the centre of one of these ketjamatans only in name. It ceased to be the centre in 1918 and now Belang, a dukuh of desa Tlbo, is the defacto centre of the ketjamatan with Bung Tardijopronoto (PNI) as the Tjamat since April, 1956, a very kind and popular gentleman whom the author called upon while returning from his sojourn in Djatijoso². The former Tjamat was Bung Purwotora-sodipuro of the Swapradja Party, a party with its influence localised in Central Java. A ketjamatan is finally made up of a number of desas (villages) or kelurahans, each desa having a Lurah as its head. The ketjamatan of Djatijoso has nine desas : Djatijoso, Wukirsawit, Karangsavi, Wonoredjo, Beruk, Wonokeling, Betung, Djatisawit and Tlbo. Sdr. Wirodigdojo (PSI) of dukuh Gempolan, desa Djatijoso, was the Lurah of desa Djatijoso when the author visited the village. He is a well-informed old, but energetic worker of the Socialist Party and a very popular figure in the neighbouring locality. A desa is composed of several dukuhs. (We may compare

² As soon as one arrives in a town or a village, his host must report his arrival to the local authority. This fact is not well known outside Indonesia. The rule applies even to Indonesians who must inform the police when they leave or arrive at a place. Any violation of this rule is punishable by law.

the two with a *mauza* and its several *purwas* in U.P.). Each dukuh has a Kebajan or Lurah Dukuh who helps the Lurah of the desa. Desa Djatijoso consists of eight dukuhs : Margoredjo (30 houses, 36 families), Ngemplak (87 houses), Gempolan (43 houses), Blimbing (49 houses), Plamar (77 houses), Mloko (56 houses), Ngepring (60 houses) and Banaran (32 houses). The author stayed in dukuh Margoredjo the Kebajan of which was Sdr. Martowijono (PSI). The position of Margoredjo according to the administrative set-up may thus be represented in a tabular form :



The population of desa Djatijoso is 2328. The male and the female are almost equal in number : 1175 (50.5%) and 1153 (49.5%) respectively. The number of the persons who are 18 or older is 982 (male 506 or 51.5%, female 476 or 48.5%). The number of those younger than 18 is 1346 (male 669 or 49.7%, female 677 or 50.3%). A detailed examination of vital statistics will reveal the causes of the gradually diminishing number of females in the younger age-groups as compared with males. There are 424 families in the desa, 314 of which have male and 110 female heads (heads of families).

Administrative structure. The group of the desa officials and employees is called in the Javanese language Pamong Desa which consist of the following :

(i) *Lurah or Kepala* : is the head of the desa. He is elected by the people of the desa who have attained the age of 18. (In the past he was occasionally appointed by the Government.). The election takes place, however, only when the old Lurah dies or else resigns because of his old age or in rare cases when the people want

	Indonesia				
	Sumatra	West Java	Central Java	East Java	etc.
<i>Propinsi</i> (Gubernur)					
<i>Keresidenan</i> (Residen)	Semarang	Djokjakarta	Banjamas	Surakarta	Kedu
<i>Kabupaten</i> (Bupati)	Sragen	Sukohardjo	Wonogiri	Karanganjar	Bojolali
<i>Kewedanan</i> (Wedana)	Karangajar	Djumapolo	Karangpandan	Kotasesur	Surakarta
<i>Ketiamatan</i> (Tjamat)	Djumapolo	Djatijoso	Djatipuro	Djumantono	Kleten
<i>Desa or Kelurahan</i> (Lurah)	Wukirsawith	Karangasari	Wonoredjo	Djatijoso	Beruk
<i>Dukuh</i> (Kebijen or Lurah Dukuh)	Ngemplak	Gempolan	Blimbing	Margorejo	Plamar
					Mloko
					Ngepring
					Banaran

to remove him. He gets 4 hecto *sawah* (paddy) fields in lieu of his services. He is assisted by a group of desa officials (employees) who are mentioned subsequently.

(ii) *Tjarik or Djuru Tulis* : is the Secretary appointed by the Wedana. He gets 3 hecto *sawah* fields. The candidates for this post have to appear at an examination in the Kewedanan. They must know Bahasa Indonesia (the national language of Indonesia; the word Bahasa is derived from the Sanskrit word Bhāṣā=language), should be capable of doing administrative work and must have the minimum basic education, i.e., passed the Sekolah Rakjat (People's School=Primary School) Examination.

(iii) *Kebajan or Lurah Dukuh* : is appointed by the Lurah of the desa and gets 1 hecto *sawah* field. He works according to the instructions of the Lurah, holds meetings, visits houses to give instructions, organises *gotong rojong* (free labour by the entire community) for repair of desa roads, etc.

(iv) *Djogotirto or Penganan* : distributes irrigation water and gets 1 hecto *sawah* field.

(v) *Djoyobojo* : is the policeman of the desa and also gets 1 hecto *sawah* field.

(vi) *Pertanian* : is an agricultural expert who gives information to the villagers about planting, fertilisers, etc. He gets 2/3 hecto *sawah* field.

(vii) *Kaum or Modin* : performs religious duties on the occasions of marriage, death and *slametans* (festivals), etc. He gets $\frac{2}{3}$ hecto *sawah* field.

(viii) *Tukang Pos* : is the postal courier who brings mails from the nearest post office at Djatipuro thrice a week and distributes. He gets 400 sq. m. of land.

Structure of land distribution. The basis of the land ownership is the communal ownership of the land. There are three varieties of land :

- (a) *sawah* (irrigated land used for cultivation of paddy),
- (b) *tegalan* (dry land used for cultivation of tapioca, maize, etc.), and

(c) *kebon* or kitchen garden.

All these types of land belong to the community which distributes the lands. The entire land falls under three categories :

(i) *lungguh* or *bengkok*—is the land given generally to the villagers. A villager who thus gets an amount of land is called a *kuli kentjeng*. He is usually given 1 patok (=3½ hectors) of *sawah* field. He may own dry land and kitchen garden as well.

(ii) the land given to Pamong Desa (desa officials) in lieu of their services.

(iii) the land actually owned jointly by the village and called *kas desa* (*kas*=cash). The income from such lands is used for the

general needs of the village, e.g., construction of a bridge or repair of village lanes. Labourers are employed to work on the kas desa and they get half of the produce while the other half goes to the village funds.

From the point of view of land ownership the villagers can be divided into the following categories :

- (i) *Pamong Desa*, described earlier.
- (ii) *Kuli Kentjeng*, also described earlier.

(iii) *Kuli Kendo or Setingah Kentjeng* (half Kentjeng), who are candidates for Kuli Kentjengship. They do not receive any bengkok land and have only kitchen gardens. The rise of this type of cultivators is a historical development through the successive generations leaving not enough bengkok land for the entire population to day. Let us suppose there were 100 families in a village when all bengkok land was equally divided into 100 parts after leaving aside the land for Pamong Desa and the Kas Desa. These families may not sell or divide their lands which will be owned by their children. The number of the families in the village, however, goes on increasing and it is not possible to give bengkok land to each of them.

(iv) *Gundul*—own sawah or dry land but no kitchen garden.

(v) *Magersari*—is a labourer who lives in the compound of a land owner whose land he tills. The labourer invests his capital and gets half of the produce.

Land area. The area of the total land in desa Djatijosa is as follows:

(a) irrigated (sawah) fields	= 189.359	hectars (189359 m ²)	= 30.1%
(b) tegalan or datar or dry fields (tapioca, maize, etc.).	= 273.494	hectars (273494 m ²)	= 43.5%
(c) pekarangan or kitchen garden	= 144	hectars (144000 m ²)	= 22.9%
(d) oro ² or kehutanan (forest or pasture land)	= 22	hectars (22000 m ²)	= 3.5%
Total land		= 628.853	hectars (628853 m ²)

No. of landowners and farm labourers.

(i) Kuli kentjeng	= 293	= 57.6%
(ii) setingah kentjeng	= 110	= 21.6%
(iii) gundul	= 21	= 4.1%
(iv) magersari (those who have houses built in the kitchen gardens of other families)	= 65	= 12.8%
(v) mondok empok (landless labourers attached with other families owning lands)	= 20	= 3.9%
Total no. of landowners and farm labourers	= 509	

² Oro² is the plural of oro. In the Indonesian language if you want to use the plural of a particular word you have to repeat it, e.g., 'Sandara' means comrade and for comrades you have to say 'Sandara-sandara'. While writing it is briefly written sandara².

ECONOMY

(A) *Food situation.* Djatijoso is a village near the mountain Lawri and is itself situated at a considerable altitude. The soil is not fertile enough and the dry land forms 43.5% of the total land area of the village. The main crops are tapioca and maize and these form the staple food of the population. Paddy cultivation is not enough and is usually sold in exchange for clothing and other needs. The irrigated fields yield two crops of paddy in a year. Production of *Katela* (tapioca) takes seven or eight months and the *djagung* (maize) three months. Thus, in a year, a dry field yields one crop of tapioca and one crop of maize. Banana of a big and sweet variety is grown abundantly. A variety of vegetables is also grown.

The people are often afraid of famine. They suffered from acute food shortage and diseases like beriberi during the Japanese occupation. They name food as their first and foremost need. There is usually food shortage for two months before the crops are ready for harvesting. The crops have been bad for the last four years. 1956 was an abnormal year as they were having rains even in June.

(B) *Kebutuhan umum* (*General needs*). Garam (salt), teh (tea), pakaian (clothing) and minjak (kerosene oil). The rich people buy ornaments from Surakarta. The common ornaments are kalung (necklace), gelong (wrist ornament) and suweng emas (gold earring, suweng=earring, emas=gold).

(C) *Cattle wealth.* So far agriculture is concerned cattle are useful only for manure. The following is the cattle wealth of the desa :

	male	female	=	%
(i) horses	4	5	= 9	.7%
(ii) cows	—	18	= 18	1.5%
(iii) oxen	32	—	= 32	2.6%
(iv) buffaloes	40	95	= 135	11.1%
(v) goats	134	467	= 601	49.4%
(vi) sheep	103	319	= 422	34.7%
			Total	= 1217

(D) *Market situation.* In the whole Ketjamatan there are three market places : Djatijoso (biggest), Nangka gadung and Plaosan. A *passar* (market) week consists of five days only—Pon, Wagi, Kliwon, Legi and Pahing. The market in Djatijoso (Margoredjo) is held thrice a passar week—on Wagi, Legi and Pon, that in Nangka gadung twice—on Kliwon and Pahing, and that in Plaosan also twice—on

Pon and Legi. The market tax is collected by an official appointed from the Kabupaten. The amount of tax which is strictly realised and a complete up-to-date account of which is maintained by the said official, is fixed on two considerations—(a) Sale outside the market house or enclosure. A seller with a sale of Rp 10⁴ has to pay a tax of Rp. 0.10 to 0.20 i.e., about 1% to 2% of the sale; (b) the space occupied by a seller within the market house or enclosure. A seller has to pay a tax of Rp. 0.50 per m². The following table shows the various articles sold in the market of Djatijoso as also the number of the sellers of each article, the places where they come from and their average approximate incomes.

No.	Articles	Homes of the sellers	No. of sellers	Average sale per market day
1.	clothing	2 from Djumapol 4 from Djatijoso	6	Rp. 125 each
2.	oil (coconut and lighting)	Djatipuro	4	Rp. 50 each
3.	rice/maize	Djatijoso	5	Rp. 50 each
4.	tea, tobacco, cigarette	Djatipuro	10	Rp. 60 each
5.	toilet (home-made powder, etc.)	Djumapol	2	Rp. 35 each
6.	spices, vegetables	Djatijoso	15	Rp. 20 each
7.	eatables	Djatipuro	20	Rp. 15 each
8.	earthenware	Ngadirodjo	3	Rp. 15 each
9.	flowers (for offering in graveyards, etc.)	Djatijoso	10	Rp. 10 each
10.	salt	Dujumapol	2	Rp. 10 each
11.	smithy	Djatijoso	2	Rp. 10 each
12.	Javanese medicine (made from herbs)	Djatipuro	4	Rp. 15 each

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The various articles may be arranged as follows in order of average market day sale :

sl. no.	Articles	Average market day sale	%
1.	clothing	Rp. 750	27.6
2.	tea, tobacco, cigarette	Rp. 600	22.1
3.	eatables	Rp. 300	11.1
4.	spices, vegetables	Rp. 300	11.1
5.	rice/maize	Rp. 250	9.2
6.	oil (coconut and lighting)	Rp. 200	7.4
7.	flowers (for offering in graveyards, etc.)	Rp. 100	3.7
8.	toilet (home-made powder, etc.)	Rp. 70	2.6
9.	Javanese medicine (made from herbs)	Rp. 60	2.2
10.	earthenware	Rp. 45	1.7
11.	salt	Rp. 20	0.7
12.	smithy	Rp. 20	0.7
		Rp. 2715	100.1

⁴ According to the official exchange rate 1 Indian rupee = 2 rupiahs 40 cents (cents)—Indonesian. During the author's visit the market value of an Indian rupee was six Indonesian rupiahs.

Occasionally the wife of a poor cultivator or a landless labourer buys paddy in the village, say for Rs. 10, carries the burden on her head to Djatipuro and sells it there for Rp 15 in order to supplement the income of the family.

The author had an interesting experience in the market in Djatijoso when he asked a lady seller selling tobacco, betel, cigarette, etc., to give him betels and aroused laughter in which everybody around him participated. Later on he learnt that in Indonesia only women-folk took betels.

The following chart giving the monthly income from the market tax from January, 1951 to May, 1956, provides an interesting study as it will help the readers to have an idea of the fluctuations in the market and also the varying purchasing power of the villagers during the different months of a year.

Month	all figures in Rp.					
	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
January	324.45	871.70	820.05	812.30	744.80	620.80
February	384.15	1033.50	708.40	667.60	633.80	707.50
March	514.15	993.50	835.60	940.85	816.85	835.40
April	397.05	629.65	705.05	769.85	731.80	882.95
May	426.55	547.60	636.60	750.35	708.85	778.80
June	453.60	583.65	550.90	555.10	562.70	—
July	502.35	650.60	833.35	645.65	704.40	—
August	811.45	909.45	930.30	664.40	660.90	—
September	926.35	786.20	870.45	1252.10	958.35	—
October	746.10	704.55	846.40	1140.45	813.75	—
November	602.80	699.20	711.30	1119.60	703.65	—
December	649.05	701.75	843.15	1214.45	749.45	—
Total	6738.05	9111.35	9291.55	9539.70	9789.30	—

(E) *Employment.* All the villagers are peasants, whether land-owners or not. The landless are mostly labourers in the fields and receive half of the produce. Such a labourer has, however, to do everything on his own and the landowner, without any investment, gets half of the produce. Such types of peasants are known as *buruh tani* (*buruh*=labourer, *tani*=peasant). We do not find any division of labour or specialised work (job) in the village. Here and

there some villagers make tiles, bricks or mattresses. But these are made for personal use or for the son-in-law and not for sale. Elements of closed economy system are remarkable. There is only one carpenter who is also a cultivator.

There are 6 government servants, 16 desa officials and 1 pensioner in the village.

(F) *Cooperative movement.* This idea of economic cooperation is becoming very popular. The villagers often refer to the exhortations of the former Vice-President Hatta to strengthen the cooperative movement in the villages. The movement has not, however, been a success due to (a) the lack of administrative knowledge among its leaders, (b) problems of marketing, and (c) competition against Chinese merchants. There is a cooperative organisation in village Djatijoso with 300 members each of whom is required to pay Rs. 5. The Lurah told the author that there was a seed barn (shed) in dukuh Ngemplak. The villagers borrow paddy seeds from the store for sowing and contribute 20% more than the borrowed amount to the store after each crop. The Lurah was also busy organising a paddy store as a protection against famine. Such a store is called *lumbung patjeklik*.

(G) *Other socio-economic cooperation.* During planting or harvesting of a crop the villagers often help each other in lieu of some reward or a fixed amount of the crop. For instance, a person helping his fellow in the cutting of the latter's crop will get one-sixth or one eighth of the crop that he cuts. This system is known as *bawon*.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND INSTITUTIONS

Gotong rojong. It is a traditional form of social cooperation in construction of bridges, repair of desa roads and other social activities. The participants work without any payment. The Lurah showed the author a small bridge built by such free labour by the entire community. Its cost would have been about Rp 5,000.

Feasts and festivals. Feasts on special occasions are common. The feast held at the time of a marriage often costs a considerable amount of money. An important occasion for feasts is the festival connected with the harvesting of paddy which is observed in a traditional way by all the villagers with great rejoicing. On this occasion people make *wajang kulit*, waganj figures made of Kulit or leather. Wajang is the Indonesian form of the great Indian Epic, the Mahabharata. *Pentjak* or the fight dance is staged on this occasion to the tune of the *gamelan* or the orchestra.

The following important Islamic slametans (festivals) are observed by the villagers who give feasts on these occasions. [The months according to the Islamic calendar are Asura, Sapar, Mulat, Bakda,

Mulat (bakda = after), Djum'adilawal, Djum'adil-achir, Redjib, Ruwah, Puasa (= Ramdan), Sjawal, Dulhidjrah and Besar—Besar fell approximately in July-August, 1956.]

Sura maunth = New Year.

Mulutan or Rasulan = the birthday of Prophet Mohammad.

Ruwahan = the day before the firstday of the Ramjan
= (the month during which people observe complete fast during the daytime—no eating or drinking).

Bakdan or Sjawalan = the first day after the Ramjan.

Besar = the most chosen month for marriages as the villagers are comparatively free from agricultural activities during this month.

On these occasions special dishes are prepared and feasts are given by the villagers who invite their neighbours. The kaum (the religious head) gives a lead on all such occasions.

Once in a year, in the month of Mulut, a great traditional festival called Sekaten is held in the town of Surakarta and the villagers participate in it. The festival lasts for a week. Barawafat or the birthday of the Prophet is celebrated with great pomp in Surakarta and Djokja. It falls soon after the harvest.

The entire community participates in the functions connected with birth and death. The kadi performs the religious rites on all such occasions. For a week after the birth of a child members of all the families in the village and the neighbours gather at the house of the child's parents in the evening feast and wake up the whole night playing Chinese cards.

Marriage and divorce. Marriage is performed by the *penghulu* (religious man) or *Kedi* and is registered in the office of the Naib and the Chatib who are officials appointed by the Karanganjar branch office of the Kementerian Agama (Ministry of Religion). There are two kidis in the adjoining dukuh Plamar and the office of the Naib and the Chatib are located in dukuh Margoredjo itself. One of these officials is from the same Ketjamatan. The chief feature of marriage is that the bridegroom leaves his parental home and settles in the bride's village. If his father-in-law has already a separate house made for the couple, they live in the new house, otherwise the bridegroom lives with his in-laws for sometime and they try to get for him a new house as soon as possible. A small sum of money (Rs. 10 approx.) is given formally to the bride's father by the bridegroom's father at the time of the marriage. This marriage is known as *maskawin*. But the bride's father has to spend a lot of money on a feast. A bridegroom's father also gives about Rs. 500 for the feast to the bride's father. Recently the Kebajan of Margoredjo married his daughter and spent Rs. 5,000 on the feast. The

bridegroom's father contributed half of the expenses. This is the traditional form of marriage although girls are said to be exceeding boys in number, one of the factors for it being elimination of a considerable number of male population during the Japanese occupation and the Revolution. Though permitted by Islam to have more than one wife, none of the villagers in Margoredjo except the Kebajan has two wives. The custom of the bridegroom moving to the bride's village is an interesting phenomenon as a constant migration goes on within a limited area. The author is of the opinion that it prevents the formation of a complex social organisation as we find in rural India. There is no continuity of generations in the male line in the same village. It is, however, not a matriarchal society.

Two cases of divorce took place in the dukuh during the twelve months preceding the author's visit. The two women who sought divorce were given Rs. 600 and Rs. 300 respectively by their husbands for their maintenance. One of them was remarried after two months and the other after one month. The husbands did not remarry. The Naib and the Chatib look after the formalities connected with divorce.

Agama (Religion). All the villagers are Mohammedans but they know very little of their religion or the Prophet. There is no madrassah or the Islamic religious school in Djatijoso. Madrassahs abound in West Java, where this type of traditional education is very important and has a dominating influence on society. The Kadis of dukuh Plamar are the religious leaders of the village. They are invited to perform the rites connected with birth, marriage, death, etc. The Naib and the Chatib appointed by the Karanganjar (Kabupaten) branch of the Ministry of Religion are responsible for registration of marriages and settlement of divorces. They get salaries of Rs. 600 and Rs. 400 p.m. respectively.

Like other parts of Indonesia the Muslim inhabitants of Djatijoso are very much familiar with the stories of the Indian Epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and their dances, notably the Pentjak (fight dance), represent the wajang (Indonesian version of the great Indian Epics) stories.

Education. As stated earlier there is no madrassah in the desa. There is a Sekolah Rakjat or People's School ('rakjat' is derived from the Urdu word 'raiyat' and is pronounced similarly) in the village. Actually it is situated in desa Tlobo on the other side of the desa road passing in front of dukuh Margoredjo. There are about 400 students in the school. From Margoredjo there are 25 students (15 males, 10 females). There is a student from Margoredjo studying in Surakarta. The head of the Sekolah Rakjot is Bung Sastramarsono from Margoredjo itself. He gets Rs. 400 p.m. Besides this school there are five P.B.H. schools in the desa. P.B.H. or

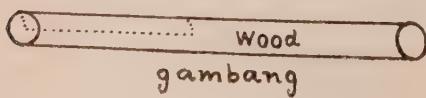
Pembrantasan Buta Huraf is a semi-governmental organisation subsidised by the Department of Mass Education under the Ministry of Education, and its purpose is to remove illiteracy (buta-blind, huraf-letter; hence, buta huraf-illiterate) and to impart some basic general education. There are 349 men and 50 women in the five P.B.H. schools in the desa which is quite an encouraging figure. There are 18 men and 7 women from Margoredjo attending the P.B.H. school. These schools hold three terminal examinations. The *guru* (teacher) of the P.B.H. school gets $\frac{1}{2}$ *patok* of land from the villagers. The word 'guru' is a Sanskrit word whereas the word for the student 'siswa' is derived from the Sanskrit word 'sisya'. Another equivalent for student is 'peladjar'.

The official record maintained by the Lurah shows that there are only 258 literate persons (11.1%) in a population of 2328. Whereas the ratio between literate men and women is slightly more than 2 : 1, that between illiterate men and women is almost 1 : 1.

	Male		Female		male	Literate		Illiterate	
	abs.	%	abs.	%		abs.	%	abs.	%
literate	175	14.9	83	7.2	male	175	67.8	1000	48.3
illiterate	1000	85.1	1070	92.8	female	83	32.2	1070	51.7
Total	1175	100	1153	100	Total	258	100	2070	100

The Lurah has taken an initiative in starting a K.K.D. course for general knowledge. Its purpose is said to be to prevent the pupils of the P.B.H. schools from not applying their knowledge after their examinations. There are 14 male and 6 female learners in this course. A continuation course is also planned but has not yet been introduced.

Recreation. Pentjak (fight dance) is the only type of dance prevalent in the village. The local gamelan (orchestra) consists of gendang (similar to the Indian *tabla*), Suling (flute), gambang, wood gong (striker covered with cotton), metallic gong and saron (an instrument like gambang, made of iron).



Gambang seems to be a very popular musical instrument. The author saw a popular Indonesian film named 'Gambang Semarang'.

Health. The incidence of diseases is not high nor are there many serious diseases. The common diseases are malaria, beriberi, dysentery, chicken pox, typhus and small pox. The nearest hospital is in Wonogiri, the centre of a neighbouring Kabupaten, 26 Km. from Djatijoso. In Belang, the centre of the Ketjamatan Djatijoso, there is an official from the Ministry of Health, who keeps medicines for ordinary ailments and also some injections. Serious patients are carried in indigenous stretchers to the hospital at Wonogiri. The indigenous Javanese medicines made from herbs are also popular.

Crime and security. The common crimes are theft and robbery. In the month of June, 1956, only two cases were reported in the Ketjamatan; one was that of a theft during night in dukuh Watngede, desa Wonokeling, and the other a daylight robbery of rice in desa Djatisawit. One of these occurred during the author's stay. May is the worst month in regard to crimes, because people generally suffer from food shortage in this month and on an average about 15 cases of theft and robbery take place in May. Cattle are also stolen during night. Cases of rape or prostitution are conspicuously absent.

There are two types of policemen stationed in every Ketjamatan : (a) Pulisi Negara or State Police directly administered from the propinsi, and (b) Pulisi Pamong Pradja administered from the Kabupaten, a type of local self-government organ. There are two policemen from Pulisi Negara, each getting a salary of Rp 500 p.m., and five policemen from P.P.P., each getting a salary of Rp 400 p.m., stationed in Belang, the centre of the Ketjamatan. They help Pamong Desa besides looking after the security of the villages and get popular support. People usually provide them with free food and fuel. Sometimes the villagers organise self-defence which is known as *perondan*.

Political organisation. There are two types of *Rapat Desa* or village assembly : (a) General Assembly, in which all people participate, e.g., on the occasion of Lurah's election, and (b) *Tilik Desa*, which is an assembly of Kuli Kentjengs. For instance, when a road is to be repaired or a desa road is to be made or the village head wants to organise perondan (organisation for the security of the village), all the Kuli Kentjengs of the village meet and organise performance of such desa duties in lieu of their right of ownership over community's land.

The Lurah enjoys the highest status in a desa as he is endowed with considerable power both by tradition and legislation. Often he is an important leader of the village and his position of influence was amply demonstrated during the first General Election held in September, 1955. The Lurahship is a much coveted position as besides enjoying social distinction, the Lurah, together with other desa officials, has a right to receive sawah (paddy) fields in lieu of his

services. And traditionally the villagers regard land as the greatest source of material and spiritual satisfaction.

Political situation. Formerly during the Dutch colonial rule the Susuhunan (Sultan) of Surakarta enjoyed a special status and had his own administrative structure. With the Revolution and the end of the colonial rule a change took place in the status of the Sultan also and now Surakarta is a Keresidenan under a Residen. Each of these villages was affected by the Revolution and a number of Lurahs of the colonial days were also removed during 1947-48.

A number of political parties have their members and supporters in the desa but on the whole there is not much of party politics or even political consciousness in the village. The villagers generally follow the Lurah and other desa officials. Desa Djatijoso is a stronghold of the Socialist Party (PSI) as the Lurah and all other desa officials except the Secretary (a member of the Communist Party) belong to this party. In the dukuh of the Lurah, Gempolan, there are 60 members of the PSI and 40 members of the G.T.I., the peasant organisation affiliated with the PSI. Only in two dukuhs, Ngepring and Mloko, the PNI has 50% of the villagers as its supporters. In a population of 2328 the PSI now claims about 500 members although the PSI branch in the village was opened only in July, 1955, just two months before the General Election in which the party polled 360 votes, next to the National Party (PNI) with 400 votes. With 500 members among a total voting strength of 1180 the PSI claims more than 50% of the villagers as its supporters. The following were the votes polled by the different political parties in this desa during the General Election of 1955 :

	abs.	%
P.N.I. (National Party)	— 400	33.9
P.S.I. (Socialist Party)	360	30.5
P.K.I. (Communist Party)	190	16.1
Party Rakjat (People's Party)	60	5.0
Votes polled	= 1010	85.5
Voters who did not vote	= 170	14.5
Total no. of voters in the desa	= 1180	100

The high percentage (85.5%) of the voters who cast their votes is remarkable. It is reported that but for the food shortage at the time it would have been even higher.

The various political parties have their peasant organisations as well and there are branches of the peasant organisations affiliated with PNI, PSI and PKI in this desa. The peasant organisation sponsored by the PSI is said to be the strongest of the three here. It is known as G.T.I. or Gerakan Tani Indonesia (gerakan=movement, tani=peasant). The position of the political parties in the whole Ketjamatan is as follows :

1. Djatijoso=PSI more than 50%.
2. Wukirsawit=Swapradja (a party localised in Central Java) more than 50%.
3. Karangsari=Swapradja 50%, PNI, 50%.
4. Wonoredjo=PKI 50%, PSI 45%, PNI, 50%.
5. Beruk=Swapradja 50%, PNI 50%.
6. Wonokeling=PSI more than 50%.
7. Betung=PSI more than 50%.
8. Djatisawit='passive'.
9. Tlbo=Party Rakjat (a party strong in East and Central Java) more than 50%.

A significant feature of the political situation is that in spite of the existence of so many political parties, often strongly opposed to each other, the villagers live in harmony and do not even use violent language not to talk of indulging in violent activity. They are very meek, polite and accommodating. When the author said to Dr. Soetan Sjahrir, the Chairman of the PSI and one of the known intellectuals of Indonesia, that the character of the Indonesian peasant was not susceptible to a programme of class struggle, he largely agreed with him.

Migration and contacts. Not a single case of permanent migration to a city ever took place in the village. Only after planting of a crop about thirty families in the desa go to the neighbouring desas in search of work and work as temporary labourers in *Sawah* (paddy) fields in other villages. This temporary migration has been in existence since 1903 when a serious famine occurred in this area.

The villagers did not have much of urban contact. Only one person in the village, Sdr. Suwarno of dukuh Margoredjo, has been to Djakarta and other parts of the country. He is a local employee of the Ministry of Information and is an active worker of the PSI. Besides him some people have seen Djokjakarta. A number of people have regular contacts with Surakarta. The villagers anxiously await the famous festival of Sekaten celebrated at Surakarta in the month of Mulut. They have also contacts with the following towns all of which fall within a radius of 35 km. The villagers go to all

these places on foot as there is no transport. The approximate distance of each of them from Djatijoso is below given.

Matesih	25 Km.
Tawangmangu	30 Km.
Wonogiri	35 Km. (26 Km. by a 'short cut').
Karanganjar	30 Km.
Sukohardjo	30 Km.

The villagers mostly name land, health and security as their most important needs. A few would give the second place to education.

Before concluding the present account of desa Djatijoso the author feels compelled to record his most exciting experience during his stay in Djatijoso. One evening he went to dukuh Pelem of the adjoining desa Wonoredjo of the same Ketjamatan. The Lurah of this desa, Sdr. Martadarmadja, is a bright young man and his father, Sdr. Martasasmito, is the Secretary of the desa. The former had some formal education but is greatly interested in wider affairs. He asked the author about the extent of the progress India had made after independence in the agricultural, industrial and technical fields so that he could compare the same with the progress made in his own country in these fields. He also talked about India's Five Year Plans and the planned development of Indonesia. But what impressed the author most was the inquisitiveness of an illiterate peasant, who was present there, about the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi. They knew a lot about the Father of the Indian Nation and *swadeshi* and *satyagraha*. But they were eager to know the Gandhi legend in detail and the author, thrilled by the experience and with his voice full of emotion, talked to those peasants for an hour. He shall never forget his trip to Djatijoso.

[The author wishes to express his sincere gratitude to his interpreters and collaborators, Sdr. Sukadjat Prawiroprono, a IV year student of the Djakarta School of Economics (whose valuable services were kindly arranged by Dr. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, Dean and Professor of Economics, Djakarta School of Economics, University of Indonesia), and Sdr. Harsono, a student of the Airlangga University, Surabaja (East Java). The author is also indebted to Sdr. Sjamsul Arifien, Tjamat, Surakarta, Sdr. Wirodigdojo, the Lurah of Djatijoso, and other desa officials who showed him the records or helped him otherwise.]

SOCIAL STATUS IN GUJERAT*

T. B. NAIK

The Gujarati speaking part of Bombay State, bounded on the north by Rajasthan, on the south by Maharastra, on the east by Madhya Bharat and Maharastra and on the west by the Arabian Sea, consisting of the main land of Gujerat and the peninsulas of Saurastra and Cutch with a total population of nearly 11 millions, is called Gujerat.

It is very difficult to define social status because we have also to define with it the related concepts of power, prestige, role, class etc. I will merely say that for the purposes of this paper, social status would mean the social position of a person or group in the total social group, consisting of a number of higher-lower positions. I want to discuss social status in this area with special reference to 4 groups : the Patidars, the Panchals, the Nagars and the Anavils. Though it is very difficult to generalize about social status for such a large and culturally variegated area as Gujerat, the castes I have chosen belong to different areas in Gujerat : the Patidars to Central Gujerat, the Nagars to North Gujerat and Saurastra, and the Panchals and the Anavils to South Gujerat. These groups also roughly represent three sections of the people : the upper (the Anavils and the Nagars), the middle (the Patidars) and the lower middle (the Panchals) and hence they should give some idea as to what the situation is in Gujerat today.

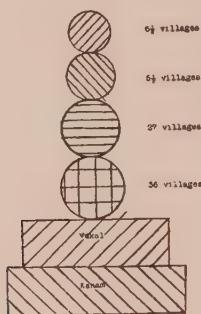
The Leuva Patidars, a landholding agricultural caste, living, in the villages and towns of Kaira district, to which the name Charotar (Sanskrit : Charutara, the more beautiful) is applied perhaps because of the fine quality and productiveness of its land, was formerly classed among the Shudras (Narmada Shankar, 1873). They are today a very progressive community and have risen very high in caste hierarchy (Pocock, 1955). These Patidars have an interesting but involved social structure.

Their villages are grouped into endogamous *gol* (circles) of varying social statuses as follows : the highest circle of ix and a half villages (*chha gamno gol*) viz., Vaso, Sojitra, Bhadran, Dharmaj, Karamsad and Nadiad; the second of five and a half villages, viz., Uttar-Sand, Pij, Nar, Od, Sunav and a half of Savli (*i.e.*, only two streets); the third is that of 27 villages and the last is that of 36 villages. ("Village" here is the part inhabited by the Patidars. The circle of villages include only the Patidars, the other castes having nothing to do with

* Paper read at a Seminar held in the London School of Oriental and African Studies, 1955-56.

it. My feeling that only one village study cannot explain the social reality in Gujerat is strengthened by facts like these. These villages belong to Charotar as I mentioned earlier and they are all higher than the Leuva villages belonging to Vakal, the territory immediately to their south, lying between the Vatrak and the Dhadhar rivers, which in turn is higher in status than Kanam, lying to its south between the Dhadhar and the Narmada rivers.

The circle structure of Patidar villages does present a picture like this :



The lowest in position in the above figure is lowest in social status. (There is no unidirectionality in the lowering of social status here.)

Each village in a circle is exogamous, it being believed that all the Patidar inhabitants of the village have been born of the same forefather. Each village is divided into a number of brother-khadkis. (A *khadki* is a street with a row of houses on both sides with a single common entrance—exit gate barred by strong doors and over which is generally constructed a sitting-room.) A *khadki* is a maximal lineage; although the contemporary descendants know very well that they belong to the same progenitor, they cannot trace the relationship genealogically (there may be two to three thousand persons belonging to a *khadki*). A territorial clustering in living is found among the persons belonging to the same *khadki*. The participation of the *khadki* in a marriage feast at a rich man's house, the distribution of Rs. 2/- with an invitation card (for attending a marriage) to each of its married daughters, the tendency to take the side of one's own *khadki*-man in times of conflict with others or to vote for him in a *panchayat* or municipal election shows that it is a unit of social structure. It is the maximal lineage.

Each of the *khadki* is hierarchically placed (the *locus standi* of any *khadki* being known to all concerned in the caste).

Now each *khadki* is divided into a number of *thadia* (lit. trunks) or *pankhia* (lit. branches or offshoots)—we will call them major segments. Persons belonging to an offshoot are very distant agnates but could be genealogically traced. They are invited to a marriage ceremony and marriage feast by one of the offshoot members and the invitation card money for attending the marriage ceremony to each of the married daughters of the offshoot is Rs. 5/- (while the poorer Patidar may leave out the *khadki* daughters, the offshoot daughters have to be given this money.)

Former political power is responsible for giving the highest status to a few families of Vaso (who had the throne, *gadi*, for a time); a few other families—of the Desais in Nadiad and of Kanda Dhanji in Sojitra—had collected land revenue for the Moghuls, who had in turn given them complete rights over some villages. The reasons why some *khadkis* and offshoots become higher than the others are found, according to the people, in the fact that the eldest brothers and some cunning juniors having had all authority over family affairs, generally used it to enhance their power and influence by optimum material alliances or by economic transactions, while the other younger brother, worked hard in the fields, knowing nothing of social intrigues.

One of the most conspicuous characteristics of these circles of villages is that the highest eleven of the two uppermost circles speak of the other villages as “villages” (*gamdan*), meaning thereby that theirs are towns; and interestingly enough all these highest villages have a population of over 5,000 [which should according to the 1931 census (Hutton, 1931) be taken as the population for considering any place as a town.] Most of them have municipal committees, water-works, electric lights, high schools, other welfare institutions, shops and temples. The villages, they say, are dirty and have dark and narrow houses. The people there do not wear clean clothes, do not speak the proper language, are illiterate and in the village there are no, or very few, temples. “Our daughters would become very unhappy if we marry them there,” say the Patidars.

The Patidars generally marry in the same circle of villages but there is also quite a strong desire on the part of lower circles to marry their daughters in the higher ones and thus achieve status for them through marital connections with a higher family. Their daughters’ children would forever belong to the higher circles by such marriages. For such hypergamous marriages they have to pay a very high dowry (*paithan*) and the rule is that the higher you go, the more you pay. *Paithan* has another form of conspicuous exhibitionism which again is an index of a high achieved social status. Thus *paithan* buys and exhibits social status. There have been cases of daughters being given dowries of 100 *tolas* of gold ornaments, precious jewellery, clothes

worth ten thousand rupees in addition to a hundred thousand rupees and a big car having been given to the bridegroom.

The man who wants to rise in status at this time does not distribute the usual invitation money of Rs. 2/- to the offshoot daughters, but Rs. 11/- to the daughters of the maximal lineage and sometimes to those of the whole village. He will also bring a fine orchestra or a celebrated singer to perform at his daughter's marriage. He will feast more than the usual people on more than the usual sweets (I have seen eight rooms of a big house, where a daughter was getting married, filled with sweets), and decorate the booth very tastefully. It is said of a rich Patidar that he tied buntins made of hundred-rupee notes to the marriage booth where his daughter was to be given away in marriage.

This all means that if you want to achieve status in a system of partly-ascribed statuses you must have money and more money. In the non-industrialized Charotar where the land per Patidar head is about 1 acre, you cannot be expected to produce all that is required to feed the family and to spare for the most important occasion for rising in social status. Hence the Patidars seem to have migrated to many parts of India, East Africa and other countries of the world to earn money. Most of the tobacco trade and *bidi* manufacture in central, northern and eastern India are in Patidar hands. (It will be worth while to remember that at home tobacco is an important crop.) They also have an interest in South Indian cinemas. In East Africa they are businessmen and professional men : doctors, pleaders, clerks and teachers. They earn quite a good income there. But this, many of them told me, is used up in the daughters' marriages.

These rich persons also establish high schools and welfare institutions in their villages and help in constructing good roads to and from their villages. The boys of these lower circles seem to be getting more and more education and I heard from many upper circle villages that these boys are more educated than theirs. To take a particular instance : Village Tarapur once belonged to the higher circle but it was out-circled by other villages because of some secular conflict of views. In spite of this it has to seek bridegrooms from its erstwhile peers only. It cannot go in for hypogamy in the lower villages. However, it would like its sons to be married in as high villages as possible. As it has not got the original primary status index (*i.e.*, that of belonging to the highest circle) it tries to get the secondary and tertiary indices of money and education. Today Tarapur boasts of many of its houses remaining locked because people have emigrated for trade and jobs and for a high educational standard among its boys and girls.

Take the Panchals, Suthars (carpenters) and Luhars (blacksmiths) in South Gujarat. These are not two separate castes but they are

an occupational dichotomy of the same caste called Panchals. The carpenters and blacksmiths inter-marry and inter-dine. But the blacksmiths of Navsari town once did not agree with a secular decision of the caste council and obstinately stuck to their own view. Hence they are called *matia*, the obstinate. (The divisiveness of a caste because of obstinacy of secular matters is a well-known phenomena in other groups. The Kunbis also have a *matia* group). They do not object to animal food and used to drink also. They stand in a level social position. The carpenter section who are more educated and hence perhaps do not "eat and drink", think themselves higher than others, and would generally marry among themselves. The blacksmith would also seek a bridegroom from the Suthars, it being looked upon as status-giving to marry a daughter in a higher group. There is hardly any dowry. The blacksmiths (and some carpenters) try to rise in status (acceptable to their reference group, the carpenters) starting engineering industries (for which they have a natural aptitude, a fine eye and trained muscles. An English factory manager in London was amazed to see a blacksmith friend of mine saying, without a micrometer, that a certain thin piece of wire was suitable for a particular job. Another surprised his boss by telling him that he could work on milling, drilling, lathes and many other machines with equal ease.)

I do not speak in detail about the most interesting divisions of the Nagars, a very important, well-educated, Brahmin community of Gujarat, but let it suffice to say that they are divided into three status divisions each higher than the one following :

Nagar Grahastha
Nagar Bhikshuk
Dungar paria

The Grahasthas are laymen and do not ask for alms from nor perform the sacred ceremonies for others. The Bikshuks are priests and can take *dakshina*. The Dungar parias who are the least educated were working as cooks and were not pure in their pronunciation (they would say 'r' for 'l'; 'nar' for 'nal').

In their desire to catch up with the highest status-bearing clans, the Bhikshuks are giving up their priesthood and the Dungar paria are trying to improve not only their economic position but also their language and pronunciation.

Now take the Anavils, a Brahman community living compactly in the Surat district and constituting a population of about 50,000, who are mostly land-owning cultivators as well as professional and businessmen, all being laymen, none doing the priestly work nor accepting *dakshina*. It is quite an important caste group which has played a significant part in making the social history of Gujarat. Among them social status is determined by :

i) Territory : those living in the Pardi taluma of the Swat district are known as Kay Bhathla because they use the Marathi word *kay* for *shun* (=what) and also because they have some sartorial peculiarities, e.g., their women tuck up the long end of their sari at the back, taking it from between their legs. These are looked down upon as low. Those living to the north of the Tapi river are called Hajo dhras (probably from Hal jotras, those who yoke the plough : Bhimbhai Keiparam, 1891). This group is also low with reference to the main body of the Anavils living in the Surat district.

ii) The village in which one lives : this also gives some status to a person. If the village is very far from the main centres of the area, if it is full of mud, and slush in the rainy season, if a number of its inhabitants are alleged to be half-witted, illiterate, maritally not well-connected, the village as a whole does not have a good social status. (This has nothing to do with the status of other castes in the villages).

iii) Roots : the Anavils are divided into two big divisions, the Desais and the Bhatholas. The Desais are so-called because they get some *desaigiri* (hereditary money given by the government in addition to a few villages in recognition of services rendered to the State in mediaeval times.) They live in Abrama, Bhadeli and sixteen other villages. Most of the Desais are landowners and get a certain amount of *desaigiri* (the minimum is Re. -/- and the maximum is Rs. 12,000/-). This is called having roots, (*muliyan*) perhaps meaning historical connections with big families, and it is highly valued in the community. Apart from the monetary and village grants some Desais had their own insignia : a cannon, a *palkhi*, a canopy and a *chamar*, and had their own torch-bearers and attendants. Moreover they had the rights of being gifted in kind or cash by various other communities under customary rules. These Desais could levy taxes also as late as 1883-84. The families that had these privileges are called *padhiwala* (lit : those who had the sects of authority,) and are the highest in social status in the community.

The amount of *desaigiri* that is received by the rite or segment (and not by the individual sharer) is important in fixing the social status of the individual. The greater the amount received, the higher is the social status.

iv) The history of marriage : this means that if a family has had marriage connections with high families (both for the boys and the girls) and that if it never entered into exchange marriages (a boy and a girl of one family married to a girl and boy of another family), and it never took a brideprice, *dej*, that it is said to be "clean" (this has no ritual significance) and is valued very much, next only to those having "roots".

v) Possession of land and status : among the Chathole section, possession of land and status are highly correlated.

vi) Not income but land : it should be emphasised at this point that it is not monetary income but landed and other immovable and movable property that gives status among the Anavils. A man getting Rs 5,000/- per annum but having no land is much lower socially than another who has thirty acres of land giving an annual return of Rs. 4,000.

Those who want to rise in social status can do so, especially through marriage into a higher family by paying a higher dowry and goods. Secondly, the classes as they rise in social ascendancy spend more and more on marriage and other social ceremonies. Though conspicuous exhibitionism of one's status, *motia* or *mobhbho*, (through a colourful decoration of the marriage booth, through invitations to singers and dancers, and through giving and displaying the costly gifts to the bridegroom), is the mark of all Anavil social classes, the tendency for showing off and spending increases as one rises (or wants to rise) in the social hierarchy. (The uppermost families could afford to go in for a much less elaborate affair, not requiring much money).

Thirdly, these classes want a proper recognition of their social status at the hands of their affines in terms of money and goods proportionate to their standing. Families have felt slighted when sufficient recognition to their status was not given to them in the son's marriage. Finally : these classes try to get into the higher ones by getting more money and turning this money into landed property. This is the reason why many young men from poor families aspire to go to foreign countries. It has become a symbol of increased social worth. To educate one's sons and daughters in a university (the more famous it is, the better) is another tendency which can be read very well with reference to this structural principle. This means that in the absence of major status indices, education can be considered as one.

In the light of what I have said so far, I think, I am right in drawing the following conclusions :

i) Though inter-caste relations are important, they do not explain the dynamics of the whole social system as do the intra-group relations, because a caste society by its very nature exists more internally than externally, status-study is an instrument for understanding the dynamics of the caste system.

ii) In a more or less closed social system of partly ascribed and partly achieved statuses and composed of two or more groups, when a primary index of social status is not to be had for a group with reference to a higher group, recourse is had to secondary and tertiary status indices, to balance itself with the other (because within the

system both groups consider themselves equal) which are tried to be made superior to those of the reference groups, so that if :

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{Social Status} + \text{Secondary Index} + \text{Tertiary Index} \\ & = \text{social status} + \text{secondary index} + \text{tertiary index} \\ & \text{and SS is greater than ss,} \\ & \text{then si+ti is greater than SI+TI.} \end{aligned}$$

I call this social progress. You may call it social dynamics. A doubt may be expressed as to why the reference group also progresses. The answer is that the social system is not completely closed. It looks beyond itself to other reference groups.

iii) Now this social progress is certainly not Brahmanization : (the Nagars do not want to be called Brahmans); it is not Sanskritization which seems to be a weak word with insufficient content in it and ambiguous, because it has a linguistic ring and reference. We must have some word which will include the shedding of linguistic impurities, the sartorial peculiarities, the opening of industries and so on. Is it Sanskarization ? (Dr. Dave has suggested this word.) Is it social refinement, or progress, or just dynamics ? Whatever it is, it is neither Sanskritization nor Brahmanization.

iv) Castes seem to develop on a biological principle. The seeds for growth or change are within itself. The old tobacco growers are becoming tobacco traders, etc. But they still try to marry within their own bounds. Ritual pollution is not much talked of. I wonder whether this is the caste of the future to which Dr. Bailey referred the other day.

DISCUSSION

At the beginning of the discussion Dr. Naik was asked to elucidate the formula, which he had given at the conclusion of his paper. He explained that by social status, either with a large or a small 's', he meant primary status : i.e., status by birth, which he had exemplified by the $5\frac{1}{2}$, $6\frac{1}{2}$, 27 groups and so forth. The secondary or tertiary indices might be such things as money, or linguistic usage. An advancement in either of these latter categories would be expressed by the lower group (whose status is designated ss) marrying their daughters into the higher group (SS). Dowries were the means of doing this : hence the importance of money. Those who could marry their daughters into higher groups "achieved a higher status", although, of course, they did not lose their membership of the primary group.

The seminar then discussed the history of this form of intra-caste grouping among the Patidars, and Professor Haimendorf suggested that although the groups were demarcated in the nineteenth century, the form of grouping probably had its origin in older forms.

Mr. Rosser then raised the point of the formation of sub-castes and suggested that there would probably be a similar differentiation within, for instance, the 27 group; and secondly, that the grouping exhibited most of the characteristics of emerging sub-castes. Those groups were differentiated and largely endogamous. Dr. Naik and Mr. Patel, himself a Patidar, maintained that since there were no usages of avoidance and since there was complete commensality within the caste and a complete uniformity in ritual practice, the groups were not sub-castes. Mr Rosser then asked why the top group did not become a sub-caste. It was suggested that this might be due to the uterine linkages arising from hypergamous marriage.

The familiar phenomenon of a superfluity of women in the higher groups under a hypergamous system was then discussed and Mr. Patel said that formerly the dilemma was solved by polygamy but that very recently hypogamous marriages had been taking place.

Inter-caste status was then discussed and Mr. Patel stated that Patidars were above the Rajput, since the latter would accept food from them. He added that nowadays Patidars preferred to claim Vaisya status and not Khsatriya status. It was suggested that the rise of the Patidar and the fall of the Rajput confirmed Dr. Bailey's thesis that ritual status tended to be adjusted to economic status.

Dr. Naik then suggested that the seminar should discuss his concept of the "biological" development of caste. The Panchals, a section of which were blacksmiths, had taken to light engineering on a large scale. Dr. Naik suggested that this, perhaps, would be the pattern of caste development in modern India. The seminar considered that this thesis had a limited application: (1) because there were many occupations in modern India, which could not arise out of a craft-specialized caste; and (2) there were many specializations in India which would have no place in a modern economy. Furthermore, while artisans could well take their place in an industrial system as craftsmen, modern industry also demanded entrepreneurial and managerial abilities, for which no craft in particular fitted a man. However, the seminar agreed that many craftsmen in the industries of modern India were in fact following their traditional caste occupation.

Professor Haimendorf thanked Dr. Naik for a stimulating analysis of intra-caste status in four communities of Gujarat.

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THE FUNCTIONING OF SCHOOL SYSTEM IN
A POLYANDROUS SOCIETY—IN JAUNSAR BAWAR,
DEHRA DUN DISTRICT, U.P.

D. N. MAJUMDAR AND S. K. ANAND

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

This is one of the series of reports of the study of culture change among the Khasa of Jaunsar Bawar, Tehsil Chakrata, District Dehra-Dun. This study, a three year project, has been sponsored by the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission, Government of India, and is being financed by a grant from it.

The Khasa, one of the few extant polyandrous societies today, inhabit the trans-Jamuna, cis-Himalayan region called Jaunsar Bawar, forming the only hilly sub-division of District DehraDun. Except for a small strip towards the north east, this entirely water-locked region of about 446 sq. miles land area has 436 villages. Counting out the forest villages, those lately transferred to Himachal Pradesh and the unpopulated ones, the community development programme here extends to 383 villages, which since long have been divided into 39 Khats. Khat is a revenue unit, having 1 to 24 villages. With its total population of 58,469 (Census of India, 1951) this region was taken for development purposes under the Community Development Programme from October 1953 when a Community Project was opened at Chakrata. But as a six-month Village Level Workers' training course had been started here only about two months earlier, the Project's working actually started after the completion of this training course, that is from February 1954.

Whereas the general purpose of this research scheme is the study and evaluation of culture change in Jaunsar Bawar, it has been our particular emphasis of investigation to include for intensive examination the changes that may be attributed to the community development programme, and tracing the elements in Khasa culture which help or hinder these changes. Since in any evaluational study of change, knowledge of the pre-innovation set-up is essential to gauge the response differentials of various sections and sectors of people to the new stimulid, the wide range of developmental programme in this case, we devoted the first year for a general cultural data collection which might be of help in understanding the setting, the

base-line data of demographic and structural nature. Field-work for this reconnaissance, initiated in April 1955, was started at three different centers of Jaunsar Bawar, namely Lohari, about 13 miles north east of Chakrata; Lakhmandal, about 25 miles east of the Tehsil H.Q.; and Baila, about 25 miles north-west of Chakrata.

In conformity with the policy of the Research Programmes Committee to concentrate more and more on analytical research rather than on large-scale field investigation, we have been, alongside the collection of general cultural data concentrating on the study of units, called "exploratory units", using the term for an institution or community selected for first-hand investigation as part of a full-fledged, multi-facet comprehensive survey. The Director, the senior author in this case had in one of his first instructions directives emphasised that while (this) "research was an intensive study set up on a three-year basis, it was expected that preliminary findings could be presented, at least in tentative form, at frequent intervals". This report, dealing with education among the Khasa and the school system in Jaunsar Bawar, is in partial fulfilment of this undertaking. Following the accepted anthropological, microcosmic approach, we have used the scientific, inductive method of investigation.

EDUCATION AMONG THE KHASA OF JAUNSAR BAWAR

The investigation reveals that the low incidence of literacy in this region is not so much due to lack of school facilities here (indeed, increase in the number of schools has not resulted, much to the dismay of the local organisers of the community development programme, into the expected rise in the number of students) as due to the nature of the hill economy of the region, and the incompatibility of the school, as it exists today, with the Khasa cultural set-up and traditions. An important point to be kept in mind by the community development and education planners is that these tribal communities, even though pre-literate, have a fairly rich educational heritage, taking by the term 'education' methods whereby culture, including not only the social heritage of traditions, customs, institutions and language from the past but also knowledge and techniques, is transmitted from one individual or group to another individual or group. Only these tribal educational institutions are different from those of the modern, urban society, of which school is an important nucleus, as also an agency. Although there is some basic similarity in all societies of the purpose of a total educational process, which has been, from the anthropological viewpoint, described as the assimilation of each individual to the society's cultural traditions, very many striking contrasts are found when education in simpler tribal or tribal-rural societies is compared with that in the modern.

Whereas education in simpler tribal and rural societies is a process whereby these pre-literate people induct children into the cultural traditions of the society, our modern education is a formal institution, sought to be integrated with economic and political institutions. Among the Khasa of Jaunsar Bawar, education has so far been of a simple type, doing without any formal educational institutions, existing as an integral part of the daily life and other social activities. School as an agency of education has come to these people only recently, particularly during the last few years or so.

Field-study for this exploratory unit, education among the Khasa and school system in Jaunsar Bawar, has been made at three school centers, namely Lohari, Baila and Lakhamandal. Field-material has been collected round the multi-focal nexus, namely, the school, the working system, the attendance, the curriculum, and the teacher, making a study of, among other items, the educational system in practice in Jaunsar Bawar, the role of school on community's way of life, and the people's attitude towards the institution and the existing set-up.

EDUCATION AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

In the new programmes of village development the problems of education have recently become the focal-point of interest. Because of the importance of the role of education, schemes of culture change, rural reconstruction and of helping people to a new way of life, educational problems have been recognised as the real problems in the community development programme. In a way, extension of education and community development programme are directly connected. There is a close relationship between village school development and village improvement programme. Both are educational : one deals primarily with children, while the other deals directly with adults. Dealing with the school and education is in fact a recognition of the importance of, what has been called, the family approach to community work. While adults may at time be recalcitrant or unresponsive to new ideas, new skills and new techniques of development, the family approach, beginning with the school, ensures that the home-makers of the next generation will be imbued with the new spirits, new plans, and new methods of village and community development.

The importance of school may be realised from the fact that the basic objective of the CDP movement of village self-help, as viewed and avowedly expressed by the country's planners, is to create in the Indian rural masses a burning desire for change and improvement, which through progressive adaptation and use of new scientific techniques, would lead to their achieving better standards of life.

It is for this reason that the programme emphasises education more than service.

Among the new communities, however, where school as an agency of social and cultural reconstruction is being introduced for the first time, importance during the initial phase has to be on making the school acceptable and effective in the context of the community's existing cultural patterns. The total impact of school in a backward and undeveloped community is a function of the receptivity of this new medium of community reconstruction. Not that the curriculum and other aspects of education are of any lesser importance. On the contrary, the effective communication between the school and the rural community itself depends on the extent of school's functional utility for better understanding and management of the community's ways and problems. In this context the problem is not simply one of villagers' adapting new and modern ideas and methods offered to them by the community planners and those managing the community development programme; it is, in fact, a question of adapting new techniques and skills to suit the culture of the people. It is because of this that stress is laid on offering the new village uplift programme to the people in a way that is in consonance with their existing cultural traditions and norms. When seen in this light, the entire community development programme is a huge educational programme, aimed at creating a positive and progressive view of life in rural India and thus at creating a socio-economic revolution of the village scene.

At the formal level, the success of this huge educational programme depends on whether or not, and if so to what extent, the school has been accepted by the villagers; whether or not the children of school-age are sent to the school; whether or not the children are attracted towards the school; whether or not the school has, or can, become a useful and permanent part of the village community without unnecessarily disturbing and straining the existing web of social relations; whether or not parents spare and willingly agree to send their children to school; whether or not the school retards, leaves untouched or helps in other village activities and the community's way of life; whether or not the school system adjusts to the prevailing occupational pattern and cycle of the village. For, unless the village children join the school, unless they become students, unless they attend classes, unless they stay in the school long enough to imbibe something of permanent nature from the school, the effective utility and function of the school in imparting new elements of rural reconstruction and helping the community development schemes would not be served. Therefore, for maximising the role and part played by the school in the village development, it is essential to so arrange the school system that its effective function and communication are the maximum possible.

The latter parts of this report deal with these different aspects of education in Jaunsar Bawar. An analysis has been made to study the school attendance, during the last five years, *i.e.*, from 1950-51 to 1954-55, at three school-centres of Jaunsar Bawar, with a view to trace and recommend some rearrangement of the working system for increasing the school attendance. School systems of these villages have been investigated and reviewed in relation to their geographical, climatic, occupational and social conditions to find ways and means to extend the influence of school among the villagers. Also, an analysis has been made of the wastage in education at these school centres to get a picture of the productive and the unproductive expenditure incurred on these schools. The Primary School curriculum in Jaunsar Bawar has been studied, its unsuitability in the context of the needs of the people examined, and, on the basis of these investigations, a scheme for the integration of the work of the school teacher and the VLW, requiring close co-ordination between the working of the school and the community development programme, suggested.

PART TWO

SCHOOLS IN JAUNSAR BAWAR

A study of the progress made in opening of schools in Jaunsar Bawar reveals some quite rapid strides since the attainment of country's political independence in 1947. Whereas in March 1947, there were 21 Primary schools in the region, within a year 50 new Primary schools were opened here under the government expansion scheme (1947-48), to which a third batch of another 25 Primary schools was added in 1949, making a total of 96 Primary schools in Jaunsar Bawar. According to the official records, the enrolment position in these Primary schools has been as follows :

TABLE 1
SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS IN JAUNSAR BAWAR

	Number of Primary Schools	Number of Students on Roll
March 1947	21	722
March 1950	94	2504
March 1956	85	2205

SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Reporting on the advance made in the field of education in Jaunsar Bawar since the inception of the Community Development Project, Chakrata, in October 1953, the "Two-Year Report of the Community Development Programme, Chakrata", indicates having spent Rs. 3,500/- on the improvement of schools, and having further contributed the sums of Rs. 2,000/-, Rs. 400/-, Rs. 400/-, Rs. 1,000/- and Rs. 200/- towards the construction of school building at Sahiya, Johia, Manthat, Kamla and Haja respectively.

Under the head "Education of Hill Tribes", the official organ of Bhartiya Adamjati Sewak Sangh, *Vanyajati* (Vol. IV, No. 1, January 1956, p. 54), reporting sanction of a grant of Rs. two lakhs by the Uttar Pradesh Government for providing educational facilities to the Backward Hill Tribes People during 1956-57, including those of Jaunsar Bawar, goes on to speak of *great progress made in Jaunsar Bawar* (emphasis ours), and quotes figures,—83 Upper and Lower Primary schools and 1 Junior Higher Secondary school opened,—in support.

If the amount of money spent or proposed to be spent on education were by itself a sufficient criterion of the success of an educational programme, the above figures are fairly impressive. Since a planned developmental programme does not end at money expenditure, nor do educational programmes' success lie merely in the number of schools opened (and this the "Two-Year Report of the Community Development Programme, Chakrata" itself admits), hence this evaluational study of education in Jaunsar Bawar.

This part of the Report examines the progress of schools in an eastern village of Jaunsar Bawar. It also makes a differential study of education among different castes and socio-economic groups, showing a detailed picture of the impact of schools on literacy among various sections of the village community. Finally the Report recommends ways and means to increase effective school attendance.

STUDY OF A JAUNSAR BAWAR VILLAGE SCHOOL

TABLE 2

POPULATION OF VILLAGE LAKHAMANDAL

Caste	Total Population	Percentage
Brahmin	124	61.1
Kolta	55	27.1
The rest	24	11.7
Total	203	99.9

TABLE 3
SCHOOL-GOING AGE-GROUP (6-15 YEARS) IN VILLAGE LAKHAMANDAL

Year	Number
1950-51	39
1954-55	36

TABLE 4
CASTE COMPOSITION OF SCHOOL-GOING AGE-GROUP IN VILLAGE LAKHAMANDAL

Year	Brahmin	Kolta	The rest	Total
1950-51	23	12	4	39
1954-55	24	11	1	36

TABLE 5
CASTE-COMPOSITION OF LAKHAMANDAL PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT

Year	Number			Percentage		
	Brahmin	Kolta	Total	Brahmin	Kolta	Total
1950-51	9	3	12	75	25	100
1954-55	10	4	14	71.4	28.5	99.9

TABLE 6
GENERAL TABLE OF LAKHAMANDAL CHILDREN (SCHOOL-GOING AGE-GROUP) ON SCHOOL ROLLS

Year	School-going Age-group	Students on Rolls	
		Number	Percentage
1950-51	39	12	30.7
1954-55	36	14	38.8
Change	- 3	+ 2	+ 8.1

TABLE 7

DIFFERENTIAL CHANGE IN LAKHAMANDAL STUDENTS' SCHOOL RECORD

Year	Brahmin			Kolta		
	School-going age-group	Number on school rolls	%	School-going rolls	No. on School rolls	%
1950-51	23	9	39.1	12	3	25
1954-55	24	10	41.6	11	4	36.3
Change		+	2.5		+	11.3

Table No. 2 is the general population record of village Lakhamandal a village of nine caste groups, two of which, Brahmin and Kolta, constitute more than four-fifth (about 88%) of the village population. Rest of the population comprises of the remaining seven groups. Total strength of each of the latter set being too small to be of any significance, no caste-wise analysis of these seven castes has been attempted.

Table Nos. 3 and 4 give the strength and composition of the school-going age-group, (6-15 years), of the village. While no detailed demographic analysis of the different groups has been made here, the general strength of school-going age-groups of different castes appears to be more or less in similar proportion to the total population of the respective groups.

The General Table of Lakhamandal children (School-going Age-group) on school rolls (Table No. 6) reveals a positive trend, over the last five years, in the number of students on rolls, notwithstanding a small decrease in the strength of school-going age-group. But as Table No. 6 shows, this positive trend is of a higher degree among the Kolta than among the Brahmin. The size of the population being small, no generalization is warranted on this basis, without further verification elsewhere. A tentative hypothesis may, however, be forwarded : *the increased attempts at spreading education are finding more acceptance among the lower castes and backward socio-economic groups than among the higher castes.* In a cultural set-up consisting of 'haves' and 'have-nots' any liberal scheme of education and propaganda in favour of education is likely to increase the number of school children belonging to the backward section and the 'have-nots'. Considering the fact that school education, for the latter, has always been free, this increase in, and incentive to, education among the 'have-nots' may be placed to and be taken as an indication of an

urge among the Kolta to improve their backward lot through education. The conclusion that school is seen as a medium of raising the status and bettering their life chances by these hitherto neglected and backward sections of the population, who are eager to make up for the lost time and are more keen to avail of the new opportunities and vistas opened by the Community Development Programme, does not seem far from truth.

Some reflection over Table Nos. 5 and 7 belies the optimism expressed in the official Progress Reports and Assessments of the Community Development Project. Without in any way belittling the efforts of the Community Development Project, Chakrata, in helping to improve the living conditions of the *Khasa* of Jaunsar Bawar, or their success attained in other spheres, not much seems to have been the net outcome of its educational plans. More than 60% children of the school-going age-group of Lakhamandal,—and there is no patent reason to regard it as a typical case,—are still entirely untouched by the local Primary school. Even if the success of an educational plan is to be judged not by the amount of money spent on it but by the increase in the number of students receiving education then there does remain a lot to be done in this field.

The study of the success of a rural school requires an all-round investigation : study of the system, the curricula, and the teacher. In Part three of the Report an investigation of the school system has been made, and a way suggested to increase the school attendance.

PART THREE

VILLAGE PRIMARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

This part of the Report, dealing with school attendance, treats a case-study. It seeks to show how, from the administrative and organisational end, an important factor in the poor response to schools in Jaunsar Bawar, and in the irregularity of students' attendance at school is the wrong arrangement of vacations. Study of the school at village Lakhamandal, about 25 miles east of the Tehsil headquarters and the Community Development Centre, Chakrata, which school, even though better in respect of attendance than the schools at the neighbouring villages like Manthat, Kandi, Lawadi (now closed) and Myunda (closed since about a year due to the long illness of the teacher), can be still more successful if the vacations are rationalised and reorganised on the basis of the annual cycle of agricultural activities of the *Khasa* society and the geographical and climatic conditions of the Jaunsar Bawar region.

In so far as an important criterion of successful school programme is the number of students attending regularly, this case-study putting forward diagnostic explanation of the analytical data, suggests

24 A

CRUDE GRAPHIC INDEX OF VILLAGE PRIMARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

25.



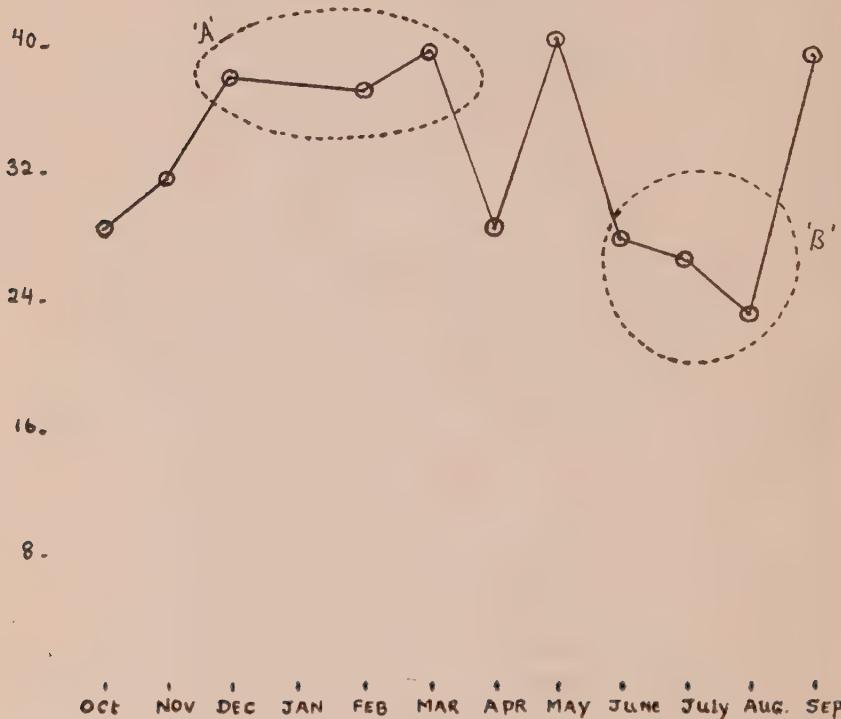
GRAPH NO 1

a re-organised scheme of vacations, which without altering the present administrative plan of working days should help

in both increasing the number of students on rolls, as also make for more regular attendance in schools.

24 B

GRAPHIC INDEX OF TOTAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE MONTHWISE 1950-1955



GRAPH NO 2

ANALYTICAL DATA

Table No. 8(A), showing the number of students, coming regularly or otherwise, monthwise, during the period 1950-51 to 1954-55, and the average monthly attendance derived therefrom, gives, what may be called, a crude tabular index of the village Primary school attendance during the five years for which school records are available. Following this tabular index, the eleven months, the schools being

closed from January 1 to February 15 on account of winter vacations, may be arranged in this descending order.

TABLE 8(A)

CRUDE TABULAR INDEX OF VILLAGE PRIMARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

by frequency of students coming regularly or otherwise, monthwise, 1950-51 to 1954-55

Month	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	Average
February	14	19	22	19	24	19.6
March	14	23	24	19	24	20.8
April	11	21	23	19	24	19.6
May	11	21	24	25	22	20.6
June	10	22	21	25	21	19.0
July	10	10	20	20	school closed	15.0
August	13	13	18	21	school closed	16.2
September	12	24	23	21	26	21.2
October	13	21	24	21	23	20.4
November	11	19	23	19	22	18.8
December	12	21	19	19	25	19.2
Average	11.9	19.4	21.9	20.7	23.4	19.0
						19.4

The school attendance indices, provided by Table Nos. 8(A) and 8(B), have been termed *crude* because they give a somewhat deceptive picture. While counting the frequency of students, coming regularly or otherwise, in a month in these tables, a student who has attended the school for one day only in that month has been given the same rating as another who has attended the school for, say, 25 out of 25 working days. Now, at the opening of the academic session a number of students may (and the school records show, they actually do) join the school but they may attend the classes very irregularly or may even leave it after two or three months. Their number, however, swells the figures in these months, which inflated trend is not indicated by these tables. Indeed, a subsequent month which may have fewer number of students on roll but who are regular in attend-

ance, should be taken as a more successful month than the previous one.

TABLE 8(B)

CRUDE AVERAGE MONTHLY ATTENDANCE TABLE

Month	Average monthly attendance (1950-55)
September	21.2
March	20.8
May	20.6
October	20.4
February	19.6
April	19.6
December	19.2
June	19.0
November	18.8
August	16.2
July	15.0

To check against this, a method of indirect analysis has been adapted to determine the period attracting larger number of students towards the school.

In Table No. 9 (A) the total attendance of all students in a particular month, say, July, during the entire five-year period, 1950-51 to 1954-55, has been taken. In July 1950 the school was held on 26 days. The total attendance of students in that month is 116. This total attendance number for the same month, namely, July, in the subsequent years, has been found out, and their average derived. Thus the average total attendance of all students in the month of July during the 5-year period, is found to be 265.7. Similarly, averages of total school attendance for the other working months

TABLE 9(A)

TABULAR INDEX OF TOTAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, MONTH-WISE, 1950-51 TO 1954-55

Month	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	Average
1. February	214	142	227	149	205	187.4** $(\times 2=374.8)$
2. March	244	437	521	332	437	394.2
3. April	127	380	278	359	284	285.6
4. May	147	485	518	527	357	406.8
5. June	160	399	308	300	219	277.2
6. July	116	163	395	389	School closed due to teacher's illness.	265.7
7. August	87	173	269	394		230.7
8. September	242	459	368	342	"	352.5
9. October	195	302	449	232	285	282.6
10. November	176	336	374	367	326	316.0
11. December	111	442	407	444	511	383.0
Average	165	338	374	349	303	310

** See below.

have been calculated. Figures for all these months are arranged in Table No. 9 (B).

TABLE 9(B)

Month	Average Number of Working Days	Average Total Attendance
1. May	25.2	406.8
2. March	22.8	394.2
3. December	22.8	383.0
4. February	13** $(\times 2=26)$	187.4** $(\times 2=374.8)$
5. September	23.6	352.5
6. November	22.2	316.0
7. April	20.2	285.2
8. October	19.5	282.6
9. June	18.2	277.2
10. July	23.6	265.7
11. August	23.2	230.7

** Explained elsewhere

The above data could lead to an interesting analysis of much theoretical interest; for example, it might be investigated as to what would be the trend in average total attendance if the average number of working days in all the months were uniform. That might reveal the trend of attendance during different periods of the year. It is likely that the months of April, October and June, now occupying the seventh, eighth and ninth places respectively (Table No. 9(B)) may occupy better places in total attendance order if the number of working days, is increased during these months. But since such an analysis, though of immense theoretical interest, might lead to complex and somewhat confusing calculations, and be not of immediate practical use to the planners of rural education, it is avoided at this place.

The average number of working days in October is 19.5. As 8 days Dusserah holidays and Mahatma Gandhi's birthday are a regular feature of this month, this average number of working days is not going to vary much. Similarly, in April, with seven or eight holidays like *Ramanawami*, *Mahavir Jayanti*, *Bissu Mela*, the average number of working days here also does not leave much room for change. There could, however, be more working days in June, which has at present the minimum number (18.2) of average working days; and it has hardly any holidays, either. Reasons for this low figure of average number of working days are to be traced elsewhere. In June examinations of junior classes (I to IV) are held. Even though the school is not officially closed after the announcement of the results, yet neither the teacher nor the students are serious about the class work for some time soon after the annual examinations. Often the teacher takes leave for two or three weeks during this period and goes home. No substitute arrangement is provided during the permanent teacher's absence. These factors being of more or less permanent nature (unless, of course, the entire examination schedule is changed), the average number of working days in June too is not expected to show possibilities of any rise.

Diagnostic Explanation:

An explanation to the phenomenon of Table 9(B) is now advanced in correlation with the agricultural activities round the year and other relevant factors.

The highest average total attendance number in May (406.8) may be explained on three grounds : (a) The wheat crop is harvested in April, after which there is comparatively little work at home; (b) the examinations are near at hand; (c) several students who fail to get through the examination in the previous year join the class about this month, and appear at the examinations the following month.

March (average total attendance : 394.2) occupies the second place in Table 9(B). The wheat crop is not yet ready for reaping, and the boys are easily spared for the school. Again, December (average total attendance : 383) ranks high as there is very little agricultural activity about this time of the year. But hardly do students start taking some sustained interest in school when it is closed for the long winter vacations, from January 1 to February 15. Students' interest for the school during this period is indicated by the fact that immediately on its re-opening in the middle of February they resume coming regularly and with enthusiasm. During the five-year period under investigation, only in one year the school was held for 22 days in February and the winter vacations extended over one month only. During all the other years the school has been closed for about a month and a half around this part of the years, and has been held for 9, 12, 11 and 11 days respectively in the month of February. In 1954-55, even though the vacations were only for one month the school was closed for a month and a half as the school teacher did not receive the formal official order in time. As the figures for this month hold good for half month only, for comparison purposes they have been doubled in Tables 9 (A) and 9 (B). February, with its average total attendance figure at 374.8, occupies fourth place in the Table. This is a dull month from the viewpoint of agricultural activity; hence high school attendance figure.

September (average total attendance : 352.5) also attracts students at transplantation, *narai* and *godai* of paddy are generally finished by the end of the preceding month and the crop is not ready for harvest till after the next, leaving the intermediate month with little work in the fields. Also, several students who do not join the school in July or August because of heavy rains and these being the busiest agricultural months, join in September.

November's low position in the average total attendance Table may be explained by the busy wheat-sowing season during the first half of the month.

The fall in attendance figures in April may be correlated with the wheat-harvesting season and seven or eight days' break on account of *Bissu* and other festivals in this month. *Bissu* is one of the most important festival of Jaunsari Khasa. The average number of working days in April is 20.2.

In this respect, October closely follows April, both being harvesting months. Paddy and other seasonal crops are reaped in October. The average number of working days in October is 19.5, a total of about ten days break being a regular feature during this month.

So low a position in Table 9(B) as that of the month of June (average monthly attendance : 277.2) may be accounted for by a set of multifarious factors : (a) the students of class V, if any, pass

out of the school in the preceding month; (b) having finished their examinations, the students of junior classes, whether they pass or fail, lose serious interest in studies for some time. They want some temporary relief; (c) the teacher too is not serious about class and routine work for some time after the examinations. Often he takes leave during this period and goes home; (d) paddy, *mandua* and *Jhingora* are sown in June.

All these factors contribute to make the lowest average number of working days in this month.

July and August, which show the rock bottom average total attendance figures of 265.7 and 230.7 respectively, are the busiest agricultural months in this part of Jaunsar Bawar. (i) Sowing of paddy, *mandua* and *Jhingora*, starting in June, continues during July; (ii) In August *marasa* (*Chaulai*) and pulses like *Urad*, *Kulath* and *moong* are sown; (iii) Transplantation, *narai* and *godai* of paddy, etc. also takes place during this period; (iv) This is the heavy monsoon season in this region. Boys coming from different villages have often to cross rivulets and brooks to reach school. They do not welcome these hazardous risks, particularly at a time when students are not at all seriously conducted. Parents also do not much relish the idea of sending out their small children during the rains. In the present case, some boys of village *Guthad*, about one mile from Lakhamandal, with a rivulet separating the two villages, generally start coming to the school as late as from November; (v) And, even though it is not so in the case of village Lakhamandal, in a large number of cases the village school buildings are in a dilapidated condition, roofs leaking during the rains. Parents show some reluctance to send their children to a school which cannot even provide the latter with proper shelter; (vi) Neither the teacher nor the students are serious about the studies during this period.

These factors combine to make for the lowest total attendance in July-August period.

Analysis:

According to the present system there are two annual vacations in the school at Lakhamandal :

- (i) Dusserah vacations in October—8 days; and
- (ii) Winter vacations in January—1 month; (according to the new instructions. Previously this break was for about a month and half).

The preceding, detailed diagnostic explanation, illustrated with Tabular indices of the analytical data has shown a need for re-organisation of the vacation system. Rationalisation of the vacations, in the light of occupational calendar of the Khasa society and the geographical and climatic characteristics of the region, would make

the new plans of rural education, keystone in the Community Development Programme, more rewarding to the country's planners.

In this village there is no need to close the school for the whole month in January. Snow seldom falls in Lakhmandal and whenever it does, it hardly stays, and within a few hours of the fall the paths are cleared. Even the boys of village Guthad can come to Lakhmandal easily. The school here need not be closed in January, or, in any case, for not more than a few days during the coldest period. The vacations should be re-arranged taking the climatic and geographical conditions of the region into consideration. After the Dusserah break in October the school may be closed for, say, a week about the middle of January. After a continuous schedule of more than two months the students would get the required relief. Some of them have to appear at the final examination in May and the rest in June. A short break in mid-January would provide the needed change in the long stretch of work from Dusserah till the examinations, i.e., from October to May.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The long stretch of winter vacations in January as under the present system, may be broken into two :

- (i) 7 days' break after the examination results are announced in June;
- (ii) 21 days' break from July 25 to August 15.

The exact dates could, of course, be altered to suit the other relevant administrative calendars.

The break in June would provide, both the teacher and the students, a much needed relief after the strenuous high tension period of the annual examinations. At present a student who has been in, say, Class II till today does not feel any change when told that he has been promoted to the next class from the morrow. Some sort of significant, material event, out of the usual routine schedule, helps make the change an occasion. Break in the routine of work can serve the purpose. Just after the examination the students are not immediately serious about the new studies. They also require time to collect books, etc. for the new class. Without getting time for this, the studies cannot proceed smoothly. The teacher, too, needs a change and often takes home leave about this period. Paddy, *mandua* and *jhingora* are also sown about this time of the year. All these make school studies almost impossible for about three to four weeks. Therefore, one week's break just after the examinations is essential and would be helpful to the students both for adjusting to the change and to prepare for the new class during this period and studies could start in right earnest as soon as the school re-opens.

After about a month's initiation to the new class and the new courses, the school may again be closed for about three weeks, say, from July 25 to mid-August. As shown in the detailed analysis the attendance is minimum during July-August period. Heavy monsoon and busy agricultural season contribute to make it so. This long vacation will enable the teacher to go home. It will also nullify several one-day holidays that fall during August.

Suggested Scheme for Re-organisation of Vacations.

The long winter vacations in January-February may be split up as under :

- (i) three weeks' break from the last week of July to mid-August;
- (ii) One week's break about the middle of January; and
- (iii) One week's break after the annual examination in June.

This scheme of re-organisation of school vacations suggest that the long annual school break shifted. This new arrangement, by shifting the holidays to otherwise low attendance periods thereby improving the grounds of effective communication between the school and the village community, without touching the number of working days and by merely re-organising them according to the agricultural pattern of the Khasa and the geographical and climatic features of Jaunsar Bawar.

This re-organised scheme of holidays could be applied to all those schools of Jaunsar Bawar which are situated upto an altitude of about 4000 ft., and where the snow does not stay for long. Analytical analysis of the type made above could be carried out in other schools of Jaunsar Bawar, and their vacations put on a rational basis, keeping in view the climatic and geographic conditions of the different parts.

The scheme suggested above has been made in consultation with the local school teacher, the village *Sayana* and other important members of the village *Khumri*.

PART FOUR

'WASTAGE' IN EDUCATION

The concept of 'wastage' in education has been used in educational sociology as an indicator of the progress made in the sphere of formal education among pre-literate societies. Of late, it has been borrowed and employed in educational planning as an evaluational tool to gauge the extent of productive expenditure in the field of education. The term is used to indicate the proportion of pupils who, once having joined the school, discontinue studies at the Primary stage before reaching the fourth class. Education planners regard four years at school as the minimum period for obtaining a state

of permanent literacy, the expenditure on those who drop out before the completion of this period being regarded as a 'waste'. The detailed case study in Part III of the report has been made in search of some scheme to increase the attendance in schools so that the usefulness of schools as an agency of community development and village reconstruction may be increased. Important as it is that students have to be attracted towards the school to make the latter of assistance in village uplift programmes, it is all the more imperative that having once been brought to the school, students are kept there till at least they obtain the state of permanent literacy. Otherwise expenditure incurred on them is a waste.

EDUCATION : PRODUCTIVITY AND WASTAGE

Tables 10 and 11 contain data collected for all the three available groups, who have completed the 4-year required period of permanent literacy, at three different centers, to study the nature and extent of wastage in education among the Khasa of this cis-Himalayan region. These three groups from the three centres are from the period 1950 to 1956. In these complementary Tables the actual numbers have been analysed and presented in the form of percentages to make comparison possible.

TABLE 10

WASTAGE IN PRIMARY EDUCATION AT THREE SCHOOL CENTERS IN JAUNSAR BAWAR

Center I : BAILA			
	Boys	Girls	Total
1950-51 to 1953-54; Group A	77.7	100	83.3
1951-52 to 1954-55; Group B	88.8	100	91.6
1952-53 to 1955-56 ; Group C	58.3	100	61.5
Center II : LOHARI			
	Boys	Girls	Total
1950-51 to 1953-54; Group A	94.4	100	94.5
1951-52 to 1954-55; Group B	86.9	100	83.3
1952-53 to 1955-56; Group C	85.7	100	86.9
Center III : LAKHAMANDAL			
	Boys	Girls	Total
1950-51 to 1953-54; Group A	33.3	100	45.4
1951-52 to 1954-55; Group B	57.1	100	64.7
1952-53 to 1955-56; Group C	55.5	100	64.2

TABLE 11

PRODUCTIVITY IN PRIMARY EDUCATION AT THREE SCHOOL CENTERS IN JAUNSAR BAWAR

Center I : BAILA		
	Boys	Girls
		Total
1950-51 to 1953-54; Group A	22.2	0
1951-52 to 1954-55; Group B	11.1	0
1952-53 to 1955-56; Group C	41.6	0
		38.4

Center II : LOHARI		
	Boys	Girls
		Total
1950-51 to 1953-54; Group A	5.5	0
1951-52 to 1954-55; Group B	13.0	0
1952-53 to 1955-56; Group C	14.2	0
		13.0

Center III : LAKHAMANDAL		
	Boys	Girls
		Total
1950-51 to 1953-54; Group A	66.6	0
1951-52 to 1954-55; Group B	42.8	0
1952-53 to 1955-56; Group C	45.4	0
		35.7

The data on productivity and wastage in Primary school education presented above though not quite sufficient to make any generalised study of trends or progress does throw some light on the school scene. Taking the general picture, wastage in some castes has been as high as nearly 95 per cent. This high rate of wastage is a disturbing aspect of schooling in Jaunsar Bawar.

Boys' Education

At one center (No. III) there is a clear indication of some positive decline in the boys' education expansion programme, the wastage having increased from about one third to more than one half. Thus while in the earlier years (1950-51 to 1953-54) expenditure incurred and school effort made on one out of every three boys who joined it was a waste, in the latter (1952-53 to 1955-56) it was so in the case of more than one out of every two. That this may be due to some reasons peculiar to this Center is quite probable, especially when the other two Centers show a different picture. But such cases

certainly need to be watched with care and efforts made to safeguard against any downward trend in educational progress before full use is expected in the positive direction of the efforts made and expenditure incurred on it. At the other two Centers, there is a definite improvement in productivity, though not very spectacular; wastage has in one case come down by about nine per cent and in the other by about twenty per cent. This improvement should be particularly gratifying because these Centers have in the beginning shown very high rates of wastage, being as high as 80 to 85 per cent. The point to be noted is that during the course of the first 5-year Plan, which phase covers the intensive 3-year period of the community development project in Jaunsar Bawar, one school center which had a high productivity-rate of education shows a definite decline in productivity and an increase in wastage, whereas the two school centers, which had very low productivity in the beginning, show some improvement in productivity and decrease of wastage in education. Increase in wastage of Primary education and decline in its productivity as the tempo of the planning and community development work gathers momentum do not go well together. A pertinent point to be noted in this connection is that increase in wastage is shown by the school which is administratively better off than the rest, has better accessibility to, and better means of communication with the Tehsil and District headquarters than the other two Centers which are rather out-of-the-way villages, and from where comparatively larger number of people have contacts outside Jaunsar Bawar than any of the other Centers.

TABLE 12
GENERAL TABLE OF PRODUCTIVITY IN EDUCATION

	Boys	Girls	Total
Group A; (1951-54)	18.5	0	16.6
Group B; (1952-55)	21.7	0	18.8
Group C; (1953-56)	29.5	0	26.0

Taking the progress of all the three school centers combined, however, there is a definite increase in productivity, as improvement in the *rate* of increase, over years as far as boys' education is concerned. But the position with regard to girls is the same—*nil* productivity, cent per cent wastage of expenditure incurred on schools so far.

Girls' Education

The most striking feature of education at all these Centers is the cent percent wastage in case of girls, among all the groups. That

is to say, no girl who joined the school stayed on for the full four-year period and obtained a state of permanent literacy. This *nil* productivity in Primary education among girls at all the three Centers means that in so far as any innovation in the domestic sphere has to be adapted and assimilated through the women, no change through the women should be expected in the home life as far as the agency of school is concerned. This huge wastage, considering the important position that women occupy in the Khasa family structure, is largely due to faulty curriculum. This aspect of the school not having even touched the village girls should be a matter of concern to the community planners. This aspect of girls' education is examined in still more details in a breakdown picture of wastage in education seen in the following Tables. This differential analysis has been made separately among the three strata of socio-economic and caste groups, upper tier covering Brahmin, and Rajput; the intermediate, Dom consisting of a number of sub-castes—Badhi, Bajgi, Lohar, Auzi, etc.,—all of which are functional groups; and the Kolta, who have traditionally occupied the lowest rung of the social hierarchy.

TABLE 13
DIFFERENTIAL PICTURE OF WASTE IN EDUCATION
Center I : BAILA

	Upper		Intermediate		Lower		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
1950-51 to 1953-54; A	71.4	100	100	100	—	—	83.3
1951-52 to 1954-55; B	75.0	100	100	100	100	—	91.6
1952-53 to 1955-56; C	16.6	100	100	—	100	—	61.5

Center II : LOHARI

	Upper		Intermediate		Lower		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
1950-51 to 1953-54; A	92	100	—	—	100	—	94.5
1951-52 to 1954-55; B	81.2	0	—	—	100	—	83.3
1952-53 to 1955-56; C	70	100	—	—	100	—	86.9

Center III : LAKHAMANDAL

	Upper		Intermediate		Lower		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
1950-51 to 1953-54; A	0	100	—	—	75	—	45.4
1951-52 to 1954-55; B	57.1	100	—	—	62.5	—	64.7
1952-53 to 1955-56; C	75.0	100	—	—	42.8	—	64.2

Study of the data presented above indicates girls among upper castes and higher socio-economic groups showing cent per cent wastage in education, that is to say, no girl among these groups at all the three Centers has completed her period of permanent literacy. On the other hand, among the lower socio-economic groups, girls have not joined the school at all. Same holds true of girls among the intermediate, that is, the artisan groups, except among two groups at one Center, in which case also it is cent per cent wastage. Whereas in ultimate result the two types—cent per cent education wastage among Brahmin and Rajput girls, no school joining at all among Kolta girls,—may not be very different, but it does indicate one thing : *while girls from Rajput and Brahmin groups, who constitute the upper tier in the socio-economic hierarchy of the Khasa of Jaunsar Bawar, have been at least initiated into the school system (even though the outcome or progress is nil as is indicated by the cent per cent wastage in education here), school has not touched the girls among the Kolta and the artisan groups, which include Bajji, Sunar, Lohar, Badi, etc.*

The education position among the intermediate and lower caste boys is poorer than among the Rajput and Brahmin. At two Centers the schools show no admission even as far as intermediate caste boys are concerned, and at one there is cent per cent wastage, latter being the case among Kolta boys at two Centers. At one Center, however, Kolta have shown a progressive decrease in the wastage-rate, having come from hundred per cent wastage to about fortythree per cent within six years. Whether or not it can be taken as a beginning remains to be seen. Among Rajput and Brahmin boys, except in two cases, the wastage rate exceeds 70%, being more than 80% in three cases, and so high as 92% in one. This wastage in education is high enough to cause alarm and concern to the educational planners, but the hopeful aspect is that at some points there are indications of decrease in the rate of wastage. At one Center, for example, the wastage has come down from 92% to 70%; at another, from 75% to about 43%. Overall it is seen that *the new education drives through the school are not touching, either boys or girls, among the intermediate castes and socio-economic groups, consisting of Bajji, Sunar, Lohar, etc., nor has the school been able to attract girls from among the Kolta.* At one Center, there is a decline in the rate of wastage among Kolta boys, but at the other two it is cent per cent wastage, showing the unsuitability of school education as a means of social capilarity among these people. This aspect needs careful perusal especially when it is seen that the Kolta number about one-fifth of the population of Jaunsar Bawar, and the Dom are about one third of the total population. Among the Brahmin and Rajput, while one Center shows a rapid decline in wastage, one shows an almost equally rapid increase in wastage, the third showing

gradual progress. Thus, it cannot be said that school has done much for the Khasa of Jaunsar Bawar. In so far as this agency of community development and reconstruction has failed to find roots among these hilly people, an otherwise useful and very potent instrument of community development has not shown any results so far.

Analysis made earlier in this report led to a tentative hypothesis that the increased attempts at spreading education through Primary school are finding more acceptance among the lower castes. This study of the differential rate of productivity and wastage in education reveals that though, *overall, among the intermediate and the lower socio-economic groups school has touched a fringe of the problem, its efforts have not been very productive, that though among Kolta and artisan groups children have been initiated into the Primary school, they have not benefited much from it, that after joining the Primary school they do not stay to complete the 4-year permanent literacy period, that school as an institution has not made any headway in the community's permanent scheme of things.*

Whereas among the lower and intermediate castes and socio-economic groups education is seen as a lever for raising their social status, school, as it exists today, does not yet find ready acceptance by the Khasa. An explanation of this acceptance of new education but non-acceptance or non-assimilation of school into the community set-up may be sought in the present character of the village school and the nature of its curriculum.

The school, before it can take roots in a society, presupposes a mature matrix of economic, social and cultural conditions. The school is essentially an institution of a wide, supra-local community and of a cultural regime based on literacy civilization. Utilitarian, examination-centered, employment-oriented schools can be an integral part only of an industrial social structure, with large secondary and tertiary sectors of employment. Only in such a society can a school system be developed to its full capacity and become functionally related to the family, to the economy and local community, to the industrial order, and to the whole complex social structure of the collectivity. Khasa of Jaunsar Bawar, and many other similar communities, are still very far from the pale of this modern social structure and its cultural systems, and, therefore, the school, placed in such communities, is bound to fail in some of its essential purposes. Education existing in these traditional groups needs no schools of the modern type to be exercised or perfected. The type of Primary school that exists among the Khasa of Jaunsar Bawar today does not impart its students anything more than some rudiments of literacy, which *per se* is not at all suited to the Khasa children who, inspite of schooling, have only to follow in later life the traditional occupational pattern. Secondary and tertiary sectors of employment,

which alone can absorb the general literates produced by the present type of school, do not exist in the Khasa economy. And because of the polyandrous family structure, tying male members to the home, mobility does not exist. This latter fact explains why, unlike his neighbour from Garwhal, a Khasa would much rather starve among his kinsmen but would never think of going to the plains for employment. Education for development among the Khasa must be oriented to their cultural and economic patterns.

From the structural view-point, aspects requiring further investigation and thought are the intended relation of the local Primary school to the local community administration and the village *Khumri*, the traditional Elders' Council. But a more important point, related to the school directly, is the problem of reabsorbing children into village life after they have attained a certain education standard, which leads to a consideration of the content of the school education and its relation to the cultural background and set-up of the Khasa.

PART FIVE

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

The present school curriculum in Jaunsar Bawar is, in respect of its suitability for the Khasa children, an anachronism. An imported curricula and systems have been imposed on, and not grafted into, the indigenous culture pattern. This imported curricula, with literacy as its core, is, in so far as its relationship with the Khasa society is concerned, entirely devoid of content. The contrast between the activities, interests and attitudes of the students and the teachers in these schools and those of the parents and of the neighbourhood most significantly point out how the school has been disruptive of traditional life. Not being related to the needs of the community and to the nature and pursuits of Khasa society, this modern Primary school has been, if anything, a vehicle of tribal disruption rather than an instrument of social cohesion and heralder of a new way of life.

From the functional viewpoint, the term curriculum, connoting all those experiences which are utilised by the school to attain its aims of education, includes (i) *the syllabus*, which is the detailed statement of subject material; (ii) *the programme*, which determines the way in which the material taught is interrelated and ordered; and (iii) *the methodology*, which determines the way in which the material is actually presented to the students, whether inside the class room or outside. All these three—the syllabus, the programme, and the methodology—must be related to the environment of the

people and future occupation of the children. Thus the school syllabus for the Khasa may profitably revolve round the hilly agricultural pursuits and problems, bringing modern means and techniques for resolving the latter. The school can also be a center for propagating hand and cottage crafts to productively supplement the agricultural off-season periods in the hills. The programme and the methodology or curriculum should be reoriented towards more handicraft and teaching of practical skills, paying more attention to the development of indigenous art and music, of which there is a rich heritage among the Khasa.

The developing of an integrated and functional curriculum, which will minister not only to the educational and emotional needs of the children but is also properly oriented towards and dovetailed into the broad pattern of community's social and economic needs and problems, would go a long way to make the school acceptable to the Khasa, and effective for the community development. In relating rural education with rural reconstruction, the programme must be vocational and technical educational in rural production so that the economic potentialities of the village community may be augmented, and the base strengthened.

If the tribals have to be given an education for life, and the school to be made the medium thereof, the curriculum must have as its essential core the teaching of some art or craft, must be occupationally oriented in consonance with the needs of the culture to enable the people to economically rehabilitate themselves. More stress has to be laid on occupational education than on formal education. If education has to be related to later life, then the pattern of later life must be kept in mind when chalking out the educational programme. This aspect of educational programme is related to the existing Primary school administration and the community development administration, and for converting the present literary school instruction to a vocational education, some reorganisation in the two can be of great help.

INTEGRATION OF THE SCHOOL TEACHER AND THE VLW

The village school teacher thus will have to be a vocationalist. In the context of the community development programme, the suggestion may well be considered of combining the functions of the Village Level Worker and the school teacher. Since V.L.W. is a trained man for imparting better techniques to the villagers, he might also be put in charge of the vocational education of the village children. Thus the present literary teachers be replaced by V.L.W.-cum-vocational teachers. Thus, instead of the present

type of teacher living in the village, and the V.L.W. being the travelling salesman of improved production techniques and recipes of community development, the V.L.W. be taken off his more cumbersome form-filling work, be made a resident vocational teacher, given a grant of three or four or a manageable number of villages. This scheme of reorganisation and readjustment would naturally require a much larger number of VLWs than are at present available. Not to involve any extra financial burden, the present school teachers can be taken over and trained as VLWs (meaning re-educating the present literary teachers into vocational teachers). This scheme would naturally require the close co-operation of the Education Department, the Industries Department, and the Community Development Administration.

A side gain, but of immense importance and for which no other solution has so far been devised, would be bettering the existing lot and status of the village Primary school teacher, who, after being trained as a vocational teacher-cum-VLW would be able to get the better salary now drawn by the latter, thus remedying the plight of the poor-paid teacher. A better paid position and a higher status may also attract the better educated of the cities towards village school teaching, and thus relieve pressure of unemployment among the educated.

In these new village schools, literacy would not be ignored, but would have a secondary position, main stress being on an education related to the later life of the children. Such regional reorganisation of primary education and the community development programme would help in improving what is sound in the indigenous tradition, would strengthen among children the feeling of responsibility to the community, render the individual more efficient, and promote the advancement of the community as a whole.

This scheme would require a re-arrangement of the VLW's work. Unlike the present, when one VLW has ten to fifteen villages to look after, he would have to be put to a manageable unit of three or four nearby villages. This would mean increase in the number of Village Level Workers (this, however, should be no deterrent, financially or otherwise, because the existing cadre of Primary school teachers can be trained up as the VLW-cum-vocational teachers) and decrease in their areas of operation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

The Report as printed along, is of a preliminary nature, there are gaps to be filled but on the whole our analysis has been contextual and on the basis of the primary data we possess. The pri-

many data were collected by a team of investigators but special mention needs be made of Sri C. B. Tripathi M. A., Sri L. M. Sankhdhar M. A., and Sri S. L. Kalia M. A. We are grateful to the Research Programme Committee of the Planning Commission for financial help and informed interest in our evaluation study.

OBSERVATIONS TAKEN ON THE EAR LOBES OF A GROUP OF U.P. CONVICTS*

BRIJESH KUMAR VERMA

The present paper is based on certain observations taken on the ear lobes of one thousand and thirty two (1,032) convicts lodged in a U.P. prison. Most of the prisoners examined belong to the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh (India), others to the central and few to the north-western region. All prisoners were of an age above twenty. People, very old in age, were excluded. Following observations were noted.

Ear lobe : absent or present : separate or attached to the side of the face.

Lobe-size : small, large or medium.

Observations were taken on left ear only. In noting the size of the lobe it was first seen whether the lobe was small or large and, when it could not be placed in either of the two classes, it was classed as medium.

Among the persons examined, 115 were Muslim (Sheikh 34, Pathan 40 and other Muslims 41), 224 Brahmin (Misra 47, Pandey 41, Tewari 40 and other Brahmans 96), 128 Kshatriya, 123 Ahir, 74 Pasi, 44 Kurmi, 46 Chamar and 278 other Hindus. The total number of Hindus was 917.

DATA

The percentile frequency of different characters of ear lobe is given in Table No. 1.

Ear lobe was present in all of the Muslim, Misra and Pandey Brahmin, in Ahir and Pasi. It was separate in 79.13 per cent of Muslim and 85.17 per cent of Hindu. Attached lobes were found in 20.87 per cent of Muslim (29.41 for Sheikh, 20.0 for Pathan and 14.63 for others), 13.96 per cent of Hindu, 9.82 per cent of Brahmin (6.38 for Misra, 19.5 for Pandey and 5.0 for Tewari) and 16.41 per cent of Kshatriya. In 84.50 per cent of the total number of persons the ear lobe was separate while in 14.73 it was attached.

In all the groups examined, the percentile frequency of small ear lobes is appreciably higher than the large lobes. Small lobes

* The paper is based on data collected in connection with a survey of convict population in U.P. prisons, undertaken by the Department of Anthropology, Lucknow University and financed by the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta. I am grateful to Prof. D. N. Majumdar and Prof. C. R. Rao for permission to use the data.

were found in 70.43 per cent of Muslim and 67.72 per cent of Hindu. Large lobes were present in 29.57 per cent of Muslim and 29.88 per cent of Hindu. No ear lobe in Muslim could be classed as medium in size while in Hindu medium size was noted in only 1.53 per cent.

Table No. 2 bears the percentile frequency of combinations of different characters of the ear lobe. Leaving Ahir, separate and small ear lobes were found in above 50% of the people of every group, while separate and large lobes were found in less than 28% of people of every group excepting Ahir, Misra, Tewari and 'other Brahmin'.

Considering all the individuals together, the ratio between small and large ear lobes, when the lobe is separate, falls to 100 : 45.3, while it is approximately 100 : 29.0 when the lobe is attached. It shows that with the attachment of the ear lobe to the side of the face there is a tendency for the lobe to be small while a free lobe seems to be having a greater freedom for development.

The effect of age-factor on the size of the ear lobe has been shown in the table below. The size of the lobe increases with age, and, in comparison to its size at the age of (say) 24–25 it gets considerably enlarged at advanced age. Although people of very old age were excluded in the survey, effect of age is clear from the following table which bears the percentage of total individuals of each age-group examined and the percentage of individuals with large ear lobe in the same age-groups.

TABLE
SHOWING THE EFFECT OF AGE ON THE SIZE OF THE EAR LOBE

Age-groups	Percentage of total individuals in each age-group	Percentage of individuals with large ear lobe in each age-group.
20—29	35.52	24.67
30—39	27.76	21.10
40—49	16.65	21.43
50—59	10.70	14.62
60 & above	9.37	18.18

The percentage of individuals with large ear lobe in older age-groups (40–49, 50–59 and 60 & over) is higher than the percentage of total individuals in those groups. The age-group '60 & over' shows large number of persons with larger ear lobes, as against the small percentage of total individuals in that age-group.

TABLE 1
PERCENTILE FREQUENCY OF DIFFERENT CHARACTERS OF EAR LOBE

Characters	Muslims					Hindus										Hindus & Muslims (total)			
	Sheikh	Pathan	Other Muslims	Total Muslims		Misra	Pandey	Tewari	Other Brahmins	Total Brahmins	Kshatriya	Ahir	Pasi	Kurmi	Chamar	Other Hindus	Total Hindus		
	Brahmins																		
	34	40	41	115		47	41	40	96	224	128	123	74	44	46	278	917	1032	
Ear lobe :																			
absent	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	2.50	1.04	0.89	0.78	—	—	2.27	2.17	1.08	0.87	0.78
separate	70.59	80.00	85.37	79.13		93.62	80.49	92.50	89.58	89.29	82.81	85.37	85.14	86.26	78.26	83.81	85.17	84.50	
attached	29.41	20.00	14.63	20.87		6.38	19.51	5.00	9.38	9.82	16.41	14.63	14.86	11.36	19.57	15.11	13.96	14.73	
Lobe-size :																			
small	70.59	70.00	70.73	70.43		55.32	70.73	62.50	63.54	62.95	73.44	56.10	68.92	63.64	65.22	74.82	67.72	68.02	
large	29.41	30.00	29.27	29.57		44.68	29.27	35.00	31.25	34.37	25.78	40.65	28.38	34.09	32.61	23.02	29.88	29.84	
medium	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	4.17	1.79	—	3.25	2.70	2.27	—	1.08	1.53	1.36	

TABLE 2
PERCENTILE FREQUENCY OF COMBINATIONS OF DIFFERENT CHARACTERS

Characters	Muslims					Hindus										Hindus & Muslims (total)			
	Sheikh	Pathan	Other Muslims	Total Muslims		Brahmins					Kshatriya	Ahir	Pasi	Kurmi	Chamar	Other Hindus	Total Hindus		
						Misra	Pandey	Tewari	Other Brahmins	Total Brahmins									
	34	40	41	115		47	41	40	96	224	128	123	74	44	46	278	917	1032	
Separate small	50.00	60.00	58.54	56.52		51.06	58.54	57.50	55.21	55.36	62.50	47.15	62.16	56.82	52.17	62.59	57.91	57.75	
Separate large	20.59	22.50	26.83	23.48		42.55	21.95	35.00	30.21	32.14	22.66	35.77	21.62	27.27	26.09	20.86	26.50	26.16	
Separate medium	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	4.17	1.79	—	2.44	1.35	2.27	—	0.36	1.09	0.97	
Attached small	20.59	15.00	12.20	15.65		6.38	12.20	5.00	8.33	8.04	11.72	8.94	9.46	6.82	15.22	12.59	10.47	11.05	
Attached large	8.82	2.50	2.44	4.35		—	7.32	—	1.04	1.79	2.34	4.88	5.41	4.55	4.35	2.52	3.05	3.20	
Attached medium	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	0.81	—	—	—	—	0.11	0.10	

CONCLUSION

The results show that the attachment of an ear lobe to the side of the face, probably, works against the development of the lobe and tends to shorten it in size, while a separate lobe has a greater freedom of development. That is why among separate lobes we find a definitely greater percentage of large-size lobes than among the attached lobes.

The results also show, though indirectly, that as the age of the person advances, the ear lobe increases in size. This is clear from the figures given in the table concerned.

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH A CROSS-SECTIONAL ANALYSIS*

N. A. KHAN

I

The preoccupation of the social thinkers with problems of growth and development (and decay) is not new. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, and indeed even earlier, the dominant note in their thinking centered on the determination of "causes that have hitherto impeded the progress of mankind" and laws which govern this progress¹. The object was utilitarian : knowledge and thinking were geared to the desire not only to "perceive" the phenomena and analyse the forces bringing them about, but also to shape the order of things according to their conception of an "ideal" or "natural" state². As Gunnar Myrdal has put it, "the social sciences have all received their impetus much more from the urge to improve society than from simple curiosity about its working. Social policy has been primary, social theory secondary. Looking closer, one sees that they (social sciences) still remained, and to a considerable extent remain today, merely branches of the two dominant philosophies of Enlightenment : Natural Law and Utilitarianism.....in the former philosophy there is a direct identification of what *is* with what *ought to be* in the concept "natural"; in the latter philosophy an indirect identification is implied in the assumption that "happiness" or "utility" both *is* and *ought to be* the sole rational motive for human action. Social values existed as facts and could be objectively ascertained. Social theory explained reality but, as values were real, at the same time defined rational social policy"³.

This combination of social theory with social policy was not an unmixed blessing. It led to some distortion of the picture of social reality, and in their enthusiasm the social thinkers were prone to sweeping generalisations without much attention being paid to adequacy of treatment of the phenomena they handled and refinement of tools of analysis. While the society did probably gain from their policy prescriptions, social theory lost something by way of scientific rigour. However, this thing should be credited to their account : their theory was not barren and social thinking was not paralysed by an all-out emphasis (to the neglect of broader issues) on the refinement of concepts and methods which was characteristic of later-day theory⁴.

* Review of *Economic Growth : Brazil, India, Japan*, ed., Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore and Joseph J. Spengler, Durnham, N. C. : Duke University Press, 1955, pp. 613+xi, Price \$ 12.50.

To confine ourselves to but one field, *viz.*, economics, we find that the English classical economists were concerned with the factors determining long-term growth. Their analysis ran in terms of two variables, growth of skill and accumulation, and growth of population. Adam Smith conceived of accumulation as a continuous process of widening of capital *via* division of labour. The other growth factor, population, was treated as a response rather than a stimulus to accumulation. The labour-absorbing character of technology chosen by him as a variable ensured the unbroken continuity of the upward spiral, and, in the absence of external shocks, the system moved on in dynamic equilibrium⁵. His successors, Ricardo, Malthus and Mill, emphasized the limitations to increase in productivity imposed by underlying technical conditions and the innate propensity of human beings to multiply, and made these into law—the two celebrated laws of classical political economy—the law of population and the law of diminishing returns. By emphasizing that “agricultural skill and knowledge are of slow growth, and still slower diffusion” and that “inventions and discoveries, too, occur only occasionally, while the increase of population and capital are continuous agencies”, they were able to show that “population almost everywhere treads close on the heels of agricultural improvement, and effaces its effects as fast as they are produced”⁶. The logical outcome of their reasoning was an eventual stationary state in which accumulation would cease due to very low rate of profit and “almost the whole produce of the country, after paying the labourers, will be the property of the owners of land and the receivers of tithes and taxes”⁷. Now, this concept of (long-run) equilibrium is far removed from the concept of momentary equilibrium of modern economic theory and is something totally different from what is understood by a theory of development today, but the classical economists considered it only as a remote possibility, a logical prognosis, one might say⁸. More immediately they were concerned with policies and measures—free trade, individual choice, freedom of enterprise, unrestricted movement of labour in different occupations, etc.—that would maximise the powers of production and the gains to be had from trade. Classical theory is a powerful engine for analysing the factors governing the increase of productivity in the long run, to the neglect of the comparatively short-run phenomena⁹.

Karl Marx, taking his cue from Ricardo’s chapter “On Machinery” introduced in the third edition of his *Principles*, emphasized the labour-displacing character of modern technology, the formation and growth of “reserve army of labour”, and fall of (real) wages¹⁰. In the search for larger and still larger profits the capitalists (entrepreneurs) change the composition of capital in favour of constant component of it with the result that there is increased production along with a declin-

ing demand and surpluses are not realised. Rate of profit falls and this is an incentive for further improvement in technology and displacement of labour, or as the later Marxian, Rosa Luxemburg for example, showed, for an extension of the market first to the non-capitalist sector within the country and then to the colonies¹¹. The "anti-harministic" element in Karl Marx's model is due to the peculiar character of technology chosen as a variable. Nevertheless, he did emphasize, and to an extent unravel, the process of long-term economic growth in its historical and institutional setting, as exemplified by the history of the Western European countries.

Partly as a reaction to the excesses to which the abstract-deductive method of Ricardo could be carried and partly as a result of developments in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the economists were forced to abandon the law of population and the law of diminishing returns, and with these the entire classical theory of economic growth. But the economists gave up much more than was necessary. Instead of searching for a satisfactory theory of growth to replace the discredited classical theory, they now turned their attention to problems that were essentially short-run and statistic in character¹³. Much attention was paid to refinement of tools of analysis and determination of functional relationships between a set of interdependent variables in static equilibrium conditions. Much was gained in this effort at scientific precision but much was also lost. Economic theory became divorced from economic policy concerning long-term development. The Keynesian approach served to focuss attention on the inadequacy of classical theory to explain a characteristically short-term phenomenon (of underemployment equilibrium) and inspite of its usefulness for policy measures designed to sustain advanced economies at full employment (or near-full employment) level, and notwithstanding the efforts to "dynamize" it, it is doubtful how far it helped in the analysis of long-term growth¹⁴. The one exception among modern economists is J. A. Schumpeter who tried to work out a model of growth, again in a particular historical and institutional setting, and with the dominant role assigned to the innovator.

Meanwhile the National Bureau of Economic Research in the United States, under the able guidance of Wesley Clair Mitchell, was analysing data on short-term oscillations in the context of long-term growth, and collected much useful material and threw light on many obscure points, partly to offset the tendency toward abstract theorising implicit in the "mechanistic" approach characteristic of much of modern economic thinking¹⁵. The "Keynesian revolution" helped to direct attention to short-term oscillations from full-employment level, and long-term stagnation due to vanishing of investment opportunities. The two combined gave a fillip to discussion on business cycle mechanism. With the more appropriate tools at our

disposal and with the wealth of information available regarding the behaviour of advanced economies in different phases of maturity and growth, we are now in a better position to analyse the process of expansion, the important determining factors, the bottle-necks and remedies, the interrelation between economic and other variables, and so on. However, until now no satisfactory tools and hypotheses exist for analysing the problems of underdeveloped countries.

II

Recently attention has been drawn to the study of causes of stagnation and processes and problems of growth of underdeveloped countries in the East and Middle East. The various reports published by the U.N.O., the international seminars and conferences, the works of economists, demographers and statisticians, and the researches of cultural anthropologists and sociologists have all attempted to throw light on the state of backwardness of these countries, the factors responsible for perpetuating and intensifying a low standard of living, the impact of influences from outside, and the measures to be adopted for improvement and progress. Many studies and monographs have been published in different fields of economic and social research, and although integration between social sciences—so important in this area of study—has not been achieved, there are clear indications regarding the consciousness of the need for such integration and coordinated effort. The book under discussion is a testimony to this. It grew out of a conference conducted by the members and associates of the Committee on Economic Growth of the Social Science Research Council in 1952. It is based on the study of three countries : Brazil still underdeveloped but considerably rich in resources and free from population pressure; India undergoing an industrial transformation with comparatively poor natural resources and a vast population pressure; and Japan, already industrialised, but facing the problem of population and scarcity of land. The choice of countries and the aspects of growth to be stressed was governed by a number of circumstances. First, there was the consideration of practical expediency. "The Committee desired to focuss attention, at least in the first experiment, upon countries other than those already familiar to the group of scholars whom it represented". Next, the countries were to be such as form compact territorial and geographical units, whose historical, cultural and natural heritage differentiates them from one another, and whose economic and social history formed the subject of special study of a number of scholars in the United States. The choice of aspects to be emphasized presented less difficulties. The substance and results of economic growth proper, and changes in aggregate output, industrial

structure and capital growth had to be reviewed. The trend of population had to be studied in the aggregate and in its significant components. And, lastly, the forms of business organisation with particular reference to the role of the entrepreneur, the state and its role in economic growth, and social structure, class and other factors (*e.g.*, values) which tend to inhibit or foster economic development had to be emphasized¹⁶. Consequently the papers are grouped together in three parts: Part I deals with agricultural, industrial and related economic trends; Part II discusses demographic factors; and Part III is devoted to the study of social structure, the state and economic growth. The grouping of these chapters by topics rather than by countries was necessitated by the desire to provide a comparative study of particular aspects in each of these countries and to avoid concentration on specific countries¹⁷. Each section is prefaced by an introductory article by the editor of that section giving a hint of the broader issues and inferences drawn from the study of particular aspects, and some light is thrown on the bearing of these on the concepts and methods employed in the study of economic growth.

It is difficult in a work of this nature to maintain uniformity of standard; much more it is difficult to pool the resources of various branches of knowledge and utilize them for an integrated analytical approach. The editors and conference members seem to have done their job well as the papers most of which, are of a high order. How far have they succeeded in the task of integration cannot be said. The trouble arises in part from the nature of the problem, lack of reliable material, and difficulty of coverage and comparison. All in all, one finds that while Parts I and II are generally well-written, papers in Part III, with one or two exceptions, leave something to be desired. Not only is the coverage of these papers far from complete, but the treatment of the problems which have been touched upon is less satisfactory. Certain points are stressed which may look to the reader as obvious or relatively unimportant, while other more important aspects have been ignored. In this respect, I feel, the omission of ideological superstructure, whatever the difficulties of securing articles on this subject may have been, is a serious handicap.

It is not possible here in this short essay, nor am I competent, to scrutinize in detail the data presented in the papers and to examine the inferences. Considering the paucity of reliable information in underdeveloped countries, the effort made to present an analysis of the phenomenon of growth is commendable. Gaps are noticed in some cases; it is, however, no reflection on the competence of the writers but rather an indication of the difficulty faced by every writer dealing with this intricate problem. Generally the papers relating to

Brazil and Japan are well-documented. Of particular interest to the Indian reader may be the paper on Long-Term Trends in Output in India by Daniel Thorner. The writer has brought to bear upon his analysis a good deal of secondary material and analysed output and income trends. Kingsley Davis, while making a study of population changes in India since the turn of the present century, has unfortunately not related his study to changes in labour composition, the distribution of labour in different occupations, the differential rate of productivity advance in industry and agriculture, the rate of growth of population in different sectors, and differences in income, capital-output ratio and capital formation which would have given it real meaning; while a large section is devoted to demographic possibilities, reduction of fertility, social requirements for industrialisation, nationalism, secularism, lack of an organised church, Hindu belief system, fanatic ascetism, religious support of caste and familism, magic and superstition, etc.—aspects which though they cannot be altogether ignored in a study of development, are of relatively minor significance. The social and institutional factors impede or accelerate the rate of economic development. Few sociologists—not even Max Weber with whose name erroneously a contrary view is associated¹⁸—and demographers would claim more than that. Undue emphasis on these to the neglect of other more important factors may, I fear, distort the picture.

Any scientific study presupposes two things: first, a vision or perspective, and, second, a theory. The social scientist has to choose from the complex of phenomena some of which, according to him, represent the basic features of society. No doubt the task is difficult; since these phenomena are for the most part inter-related, but the choice has to be made and a price paid for it. An observer who begins by seeing everything will in all probability end up in seeing nothing. He will, in other words, not be able to distinguish the wood from the trees. The choice of phenomena to be studied will be determined by the scientist's own view of social reality—what he thinks to be important or unimportant—and by the efficacy of tools with which he is working. The former is governed partly by the hypothesis he has in mind which he wants to test, substantiate or reject. If the phenomena do not lend themselves to theoretical treatment (random growth elements, for example), they will have to be abandoned, however important they may otherwise be. Having sorted out and picked up his "facts" for study, he has to apply the tools of the science and analyse their "functional" relationships. If the tools are crude and do not help in such analysis, they may have to be discarded and new tools forged instead. Otherwise they may be remodelled, refined and perfected in the course of empirical study. The other sense in which we use the word theory

is a testable hypothesis for the analysis of facts. However sharp the tools of analysis and however abundant the material, unless we have *some* hypothesis on the basis of which to bring together these facts, the effort may be fruitless, although bad tools and inadequate data may, in their turn, seriously impair the validity of the hypothesis itself¹⁹. While empty theorising without reference to facts is an idle pastime, reference to "facts" without the "bead-string" of hypothesis is equally meaningless²⁰. Here as one writer pertinently remarked, in a somewhat different connection, we may be telling stories, not making theory²¹. While the classical literature in economics and sociology suffered from oversimplification and abstraction at the cost of reality, much of the modern research in the two fields suffers from the defects arising from the other extreme. In some respects it is a reaction to the past but while the classical literature gave us easily workable (though somewhat crude) models and in a way helped us to understand the phenomena and improve upon our hypothesis, modern empirical research, for the most part, is devoid of this content, and therefore, singularly insipid and dull. While some of the contributors, and particularly the editors in their introduction, have attempted to bring about a happy marriage between theoretical approach and empirical research, not all of them have lived up to it. Certain portions of the book are, therefore, uninteresting or at best only of local interest. Part of the difficulty is due to the fact that the number of variables to be taken into account in a study of economic development is so large, and their relationship so tenuous, that it does not lend itself to strict theoretical treatment without fear of undue generalisation. The inter-dependence of the factors makes simplified analysis in terms of a few variables difficult. Still an attempt has to be made to reduce the number of variables and work out fairly general correlations if our results are to have some meaning and wider significance.

Viewed in this context it is rather unfortunate that the editors have not thought it fit to preface this study by an analysis of the content and meaning of economic development. The editorial notes fulfil this task but partly. One would wish that a whole section were devoted to the discussion of economic theory dealing with problems of growth in its historical background, the interrelations between main economic magnitudes and between economic and social variables, the lessons to be drawn from the study of course of development in different countries, the need for modifying our hypotheses and reshaping our tools and methods, and the manner and direction in which this should be done. References to these can be found in the text; in some cases inferences have been made, but we do lack the comprehensive outlook which in such a book is greatly desired.

This, however, does not detract from the usefulness of the book as a piece of empirical research. It does help in a comparative study of three different countries from certain angles. It includes among its contributors an anthropologist, a geographer, several demographers, economists, economic historians and sociologists (see blurb) and gives a fairly general picture of the social and economic conditions of these countries. Students of economic history, economic development, sociology and anthropology will find in it much useful material for the study of the inter-related growth phenomena and social scientists, will, I am sure, feel the need of recasting their hypotheses and improving their tools and concepts in the light of observations made in this study and interrelations worked out or detected.

III

It will not be out of place to discuss here in some detail the general observations, correlations and hypotheses, based on the material presented in the papers, made by the editors of the three sections. Simon Kuznets in his introductory article (*Problems in Comparisons of Economic Trends*) draws attention to the difficulties encountered in comparisons of long-term trends caused by structural shifts and qualitative transformation of societies over time and differences in space linked with cultural and social heritage (p. 4)*. A large number of apparently insoluble antimonies are arbitrarily resolved to provide the basis of analysis and observation of economic growth. For example, we assume fixity in mutability; unity in diversity; independence in interaction; and a common base in differentiation. The assumptions are not subject to advance proof. "Their test lies eventually in the validity and relevance of the results of the study based upon them" (p. 8). The process of growth is essentially quantitative and Kuznets emphasizes the importance, in fact, the utter need, of collecting information on earlier phases of development of advanced countries, and a historical study of the process of backwardness or stagnation of underdeveloped countries, in the absence of which adequate study of crucial phases in recent economic growth—the phase of transition from a pre-industrial to an industrial economy, for instance—cannot be made (pp. 9-11). He also warns us against applying too readily the concepts and methods of study evolved to analyse the behaviour of variables in advanced economies, and against "the attempts, all too frequent in recent years, to fit the scanty data of many underdeveloped countries into strait jackets of elaborate social accounts proliferated in the developed countries" (p. 10). He,

[*Unless otherwise stated, the page references hereafter are to the book under review.]

for instance, analyses the concept of per capita income per man hour utilized by Colin Clark in studying the trends of productivity in various countries, and points out that "in insisting on gauging economic growth by such per unit-measures, economists are treating the population factor either as an extremely simple variable that can be handled by mere division (no matter how much refinement is put into formulating the denominator), or, what is worse, as an exogenous variable, beyond the ken of the economist as a student of economic growth". In his view the concept of total product will be a safer guide for studying long-term growth since it does not detract attention from the movement of total population and puts it on the study agenda (pp. 11-13). Another modification suggested is the comparison of gross capital formation in an industrially developed country with net capital formation in an underdeveloped country, since the allowance for capital consumption in the developed countries reflects largely the pressure of technological change, whereas the allowance that has to be made in the underdeveloped countries is more truly for physical deterioration than for obsolescence. Hence in the former when the capital good is actually replaced, the previously existing capacity is not merely restored; it is rather increased by significant margins, so that even if net capital formation is zero, there is significant net addition to the productive capacity of existing capital—a feature not noticed in underdeveloped countries (p. 23).

An interesting suggestion offered by Kuznets is that the level of economic performance in a country just prior to the initiation of industrialisation and more intensive economic growth may have a decisive influence on its rate of economic development. The lower the initial level, the greater the pressure called for by effective industrialisation and the greater the stresses and strains on the economy. "On the other hand, the higher the initial economic level, the easier it may be to secure the surpluses necessary for facilitating the process of industrialisation; the more gradual the process of transition may be, the less painful the pressures which the active agents of industrialisation may be required to exercise upon those institutions and sectors in pre-industrial society that are likely to become less important as a result of the transformation" (pp. 14-15). The level of economic performance in such underdeveloped countries as China, India and Brazil today is much lower than that of several industrialised countries prior to their industrialisation. The former have to bridge a wider gap which induces elements of pressure and haste, of forceful breaking of obstacles, of disregard of human costs, that were absent in the earlier cases. This makes them less favourable base for sustained economic development to high levels (pp. 15-16). "But speaking in broader terms", he adds, "one need not make a fetish of economic development aiming for the lofty heights of a relatively exceptional

case like the United States; and one need not be denying the high value of more modest attainments in the underdeveloped countries, e.g., erasing the more glaring economic deficiencies but not at the cost of a forceful reorganisation that carries with it the dangers of long-run limitations on the basic sources of economic development, the free play and pressure of man's ideas and desires" (p. 17).

Quite rightly does Simon Kuznets warn against attempts, so common these days, at "dynamising" the analytical models devised for static or short-term analysis by a simple mathematical trick—a mere shift from constant coefficients to coefficients changing at some assumed simple rates—in order to deal with what in short-term analysis are exogenous variables, because "in the process of secular change, not only are the constant coefficients replaced by complex functions, but the very sets of variables are changed, and new ones are introduced whose relation with those already used in static analysis may be unknown. Many institutional variables, now taken for granted in short-term analysis and excluded, have to be incorporated into a truly "dynamic" model, and the question whether they can be brought into some determinate relations with the more strictly "economic" variables can hardly be assumed away". The concentration of economic analysis on short-term problems in recent decades has led to what in the circumstances may have been a "necessary, but otherwise misleadingly dangerous, oversimplification of relations of economic variables in isolation from others which, for the purpose at hand, were treated as non-economic or exogenous (or autonomous as distinct from induced)". The tremendous gain attained thereby to handle the short-run problems carries with it also a heavy-cost—the inapplicability of these tools to the comparatively long-run problems (pp. 27-28). Modern economists, and Keynesians, in particular, will do well to take note of this warning.

Simon Kuznets shows the characteristic distrust—characteristic of the empirical-observationist school²²—of theories of long-term growth and emphasizes the importance of empirical approach instead. Much of current analysis of economic growth, according to him, suffers from the too narrow an empirical basis and "although some preliminary theoretical notions must precede and guide the collection and observation of empirical data, it does not follow that we must have a full-fledged theory of economic growth before we can add effectively to our stock of relevant, tested data". He would prefer to agree on differences regarding the rate and structure of economic growth in different countries without agreeing on the factors which brought about the distinguishable features, and at the present stage of our work in this field he would rather substitute, as a top priority, the task of collecting evidence and enriching our empirical frame of reference "without assuming that an articulate theory of determining

factors is indispensable first" (p. 28). Economists will take sides on this issue, particularly because of the strong tilt of his argument in favour of a particular method which may be after all inseparable from the other which it seeks to undermine, or without it may degenerate into "endless" collection of facts, but few will question the undoubted relevance of data in the formulation of *any* economic or sociological theory.

Wilbert E. Moore in his paper on "Population and Labour Force in Relation to Economic Growth" examines a theory in vogue in recent times among sociologists, anthropologists and demographers. In the absence of spatial and occupational mobility associated with urbanisation and industrialisation, it is held, the traditional norms and social arrangements in all societies favour high fertility. This line of reasoning is used both to explain the observed lag between reduction in mortality and fertility in advanced countries and to predict similar lags in underdeveloped countries, and Moore rightly adds that while the first part of the proposition may be true, as all available evidence indicates, there is no reason why the second part should follow²³. First, there are a number of factors, endogenous in character, for example, the worsening of the man-land ratio and the destruction of the handicrafts markets by cheap manufactured products, which are working to shake off the hold of fatalism and tradition, and will sooner or later bring to the fore the problem of increasing numbers and the necessity of slowing down the rate of growth even to the most obtuse villager. Second, the agrarian economies are not so culturally autonomous as they are supposed to be. Primitive and agrarian societies have been interferred with and are being influenced by changes from outside. Will the structure and function of family remain the same in these in spite of such continuing pressures? And will not the direction in which these will be changed in all probability be those that favour a smaller individualistic family? "Social scientists, and particularly anthropologists and sociologists, have developed a kind of vested interest in emphasis on resistances to change inherent in stable social structures. The generalisation is valid enough, but may blind the observer to changes of internal and external origin that have taken place and that cast in doubt the aptness of the qualifier "stable" (pp. 236-37). There is need for reformulating our views in this field of study.

Joseph J. Spengler in his thought-provoking article (Social Structure, the State and Economic Growth) divides the factors affecting growth into those which operate relatively directly or immediately upon various indices of growth and those which operate upon these indices mediately or indirectly through the medium of factors included in the former category. In the latter group he lists the nature of social structure and apparatus of the state (pp. 363-64). He then

analyses direct determinants of economic growth—income-producing equipment, amount of investment made in workers, rate of transfer of workers from agricultural into non-agricultural employments, average number of hours worked, level of technology in use, and the relative number of persons capable of performing and free to perform entrepreneurial functions—all of which affect output per worker and the rate of its increase (pp. 365–69). “Aggregate national income grows so long as either population, or income per capita, or both grow. Some connection obtains, however, between the growth of population and growth of income per capita” (p. 368).

Among the indirect determinants of economic growth are the values and patterns of motivation associated with these, the institutional circumstances relating to the accumulation and diffusion of knowledge, the laws and institutions relating to impersonal contract and the use of property, the forms of entrepreneurial organisation, etc. Such factors are components either of the common culture of a population or of subcultures shared by individuals comprising groups within the population. “The state is not an autonomous organisation with a given quantum of power that may be employed to accomplish diverse purposes”. Its role varies with the nature of the social system, the quality of bureaucracy, the technical apparatus employed and the degree to which the goals set by it are compatible with those subscribed by the population (pp. 369–70). The state should intervene when, because of economies or diseconomies of production or consumption involved, the point at which the marginal social benefit of a policy approximates its marginal social cost, differs significantly from the point at which the marginal private benefit of such policy approximates its marginal private cost. This is the famous proposition of welfare economists who advocate state intervention and state undertaking of risky enterprises or those in which the unit of operation is too large involving huge capital outlay on creation of economies—enterprises which pay only in the long run and are uneconomical or unattractive from the short-run point of view (pp. 371–72).

Spengler goes on to describe the four main (ideal) types of social structures identified by Parsons on the basis of empirical study of literate cultures—the universalistic-achievement pattern, the universalistic-ascriptive pattern, the particularistic-achievement pattern, and the particularistic-ascriptive pattern. The first of these, well marked in U.S.A., is relatively most favourable to economic growth because of the action issuing from the combination of elements making up this pattern. The second, representing the past German society and in a lesser measure the Soviet-Russian society, is intermediately favourable, while the last two, found respectively in classical China and Latin America, are relatively unfavourable. The essence of this

classification lies in the role of and status of the entrepreneur, the atmosphere conducive to his activity, the family organisation and social structure, values and institutions that inhibit or favour technological change, the hold of traditionalism, authoritarianism and the like, the emphasis placed on instrumental efficiency, and the way in which functions are adopted or assigned (pp. 379-84). The classification is valid enough if we keep in mind the fact that it is not fixed, but flexible. The particular elements defining a pattern change and form combinations and cross-combinations. There are degrees in each and gradations which merge in, or interfuse with, one another, the lines of demarcation being sometimes not distinguishable. The social structure itself is amenable to change due to influences from outside and within the system, the chief of these being those emanating from the economic or technological "base" working through the ideological "superstructure". This "dynamism" makes such classification less rigid and of greater value—a characteristic reinforced by its empirical content. Otherwise we cannot explain the successful industrialisation of the previously "traditionalistic" cultures in which role and status were comparatively fixed or given (assigned). The "positivists" may well take a lesson.

NOTES

- ¹ See, for example, T. R. Malthus, "An Essay on the Principle of Population", in C. F. Calverton (ed.), *The Making of Society*, New York, 1937, p. 221.
- ² Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, Beacon Press: Boston, 1955, pp. viii, 15; and Gunnar Myrdal, *The Political Element in the Development of Economic Theory*, London, 1953, pp. 23 ff.
- ³ "The Relation Between Social Theory and Social Policy", Opening Address at the Conference of the British Sociological Association, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 4, No. 3, September, 1953, pp. 210-11.
- ⁴ I do not mean to suggest that this was not an important contribution; what is implied here is that the growth element was lost sight of.
- ⁵ Adolph Lowe, "The Classical Theory of Economic Growth", *Social Research*, Vol. 21, No. 2, Summer 1954, pp. 132 ff.
- ⁶ J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, ed. W. J. Ashley, 1909, Book IV, Chap. III, Sec. 5, pp. 721-22.
- ⁷ David Ricardo, *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, Everyman's Ed., London, 1911, p. 72.
- ⁸ J. A. Schumpeter, *The Theory of Economic Development*, Camb., Mass., 1951, pp. 59-60, fn 1.
- ⁹ T. W. Schultz, *Production and Welfare of Agriculture*, New York, 1949, pp. 6-8.
- ¹⁰ See *Capital*, Vol. I, Chapter XXV.
- ¹¹ For a summary of the discussion, see Paul M. Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development*, London, 1946, Chap. XI, pp. 190 ff.
- ¹² Adolph Lowe, *loc. cit.*, pp. 132-148.
- ¹³ Paul M. Sweezy, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
- ¹⁴ Cf., for example, the comments of John H. Williams ("An Appraisal of Keynesian Economics", *American Economic Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2, May, 1948), Joseph A. Schumpeter ("Review of Keynes's General Theory", reprinted from *Journal of American Statistical Association*, December, 1936, in Richard V. Clemence (ed.), *Essays of J. A. Schumpeter*, Camb., Mass., 1951), and Paul A. Baran, ("National Economic Planning", in Bernard F. Haley (ed.), *A Survey of Contemporary*

Economics, Vol. II, Homewood, Illinois, 1952). John H. Williams points out that as between Keynesian and classical economics, the latter provides in many respects a more realistic point of departure for the study of economic progress. Keynesian saving-investment concept has tended to submerge the study of the process of economic change. His is a special rather than a general theory and a theory more static than the classical theory it was intended to supplant. The attempt to construct a really general theory by "dynamising" Keynes's static equilibrium analysis may not prove fruitful (*loc. cit.*, pp. 274, 279, 281, 288-89). Hicks in a similar strain adds: "The General Theory of Employment is a useful book; but it is neither the beginning nor the end of dynamic economics". ("Mr. Keynes and the 'Classics', A Suggested Interpretation" *Economica*, Vol. 5, No. 2, April, 1937, p. 159).

¹⁵ Cf., Arthur F. Burns, "Hicks and the Real Cycle", *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 60, No. 1, February, 1952, pp. 24.

¹⁶ See Simon Kuznets Foreword, pp. v-vi.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

¹⁸ Max Weber, it must be remembered, did not seek a "psychological determination of economic events"; on the contrary, he insisted on "the fundamental importance of the economic factor". (See *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, London, 1930, p. 26). He did not profess to offer a complete interpretation even of the religious attitude discussed in his book; rather he urged the necessity of investigating how that attitude itself "was in turn influenced in its development and character by the totality of social conditions, especially the economic ones". Far from desiring to substitute, for a one-sided 'materialistic' approach an equally one-sided 'spiritual' interpretation of civilization and history, he wanted to emphasize the importance of the latter as one, and by no means independent, factor in economic progress (p. 183). It is another thing that at some places he overrated its significance. (See R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Pelican Books, London, 1938, Preface to 1937 Edition, pp. vii-xiii).

¹⁹ This point has been briefly touched upon by J. A. Schumpeter in his obituary article on John Maynard Keynes, reprinted from *American Economic Review*, September, 1946, in Seymour E. Harris (ed.), *The New Economics*, London, 1947, p. 80, and discussed at some length in his *History of Economic Analysis*, London, 1954, Chaps. I-III.

²⁰ "Facts are like beads", declared Werner Sombart; "they require a string to hold them together....No theory—no history". (Quoted by T. S. Ashton, "The Treatment of Capitalism by Historians", in F.A. Hayek (ed.), *Capitalism and the Historians*, London, 1954, p. 57). Cf. also the following: "Facts do not organise themselves into concepts and theories just by being looked at indeed except within the framework of concepts and theories, there are no scientific facts but chaos. There is an inescapable *a priori* element in all scientific work. Questions must be asked before answers can be given. The questions are an expression of our interest in the world, they are at bottom valuations. Valuations are thus necessarily involved already at the stage when we observe facts and carry on theoretical analysis, and not only at the stage when we draw political inference from facts and valuations". (Gunnar Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. vii).

²¹ Jan Tinbergen, "Econometric Business Cycle Research", reprinted from *Review of Economic Studies*, Vol. VII, 1940, in Gottfried Haberler (ed.), *Readings in Business Cycle Theory*, London, 1950, p. 71.

²² Commenting on Mitchell's *Business Cycles* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 45, November, 1930), Schumpeter wrote: "he seems to overrate the importance of the experimental and to underestimate the importance of the theoretical side of their work. In places he forgets or denies that there is such a thing as theoretical proof or disproof of a proposition...." (p. 152). And again: "I cannot help being struck by what seems to me an excess of caution traceable to a reluctance to let himself be served by theory—not as hypothesis but as a tool" (p. 169). This remark, though not equally applicable to later economists in the same tradition, does retain some of its validity.

²³ For some discussion on this point, see Joseph J. Spengler's article on "Population Theory" in *A Survey of Contemporary Economics*, Vol. II, and comments of the two reviewers, Frank W. Notestein and Rupert B. Vance, *ibid.*, pp. 128-131.

RESEARCH NEWS AND VIEWS

Dharni Sen *et al* have announced the find of 'A New Palaeolithic Site in Mayurbhanj' in *Man in India*, vol. 36, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec., 1956).

This site is located at Bangriposi. Here 13 tools were collected from laterite quarries like Kuliana, Kalabaria and other Mayurbhanj sites. Bagriposi also lies on the left bank of the river, Burhabalang. The tool-bearing laterite here, as at Kuliana and Kalabaria are detrital. They are soft towards the top and fairly hard below.

The collection comprises 13 specimens all of which are worked on light-coloured fine-grained quartzite, except one which is on quartze. All the implements carry a red ferruginous stain though in varying degrees. One of them must have been rather heavily rolled, others seem to be fairly fresh. All tools exhibit certain similarities in their crudeness, for instance, in their absence of secondary working and in their absence in general, of very much symmetry of form. On the other hand, they show considerable specialisation in so far as all the major types, choppers, cleavers, hand-axes and flakes, are represented. Quite often fairly large parts of the original cortex are retained.

The industry as already mentioned is a mixed one. It consists of 8 hand-axes, 3 flakes, 1 pebble chopper and a cleaver. The industry is dominated by the biface which shows a considerable range in form and technique—from crude Abbevillian forms to types closely resembling Early Acheuliean. Excluding one hand-axe on flake, one of the three flakes is a waste flake. Of the remaining two, one is a large flake of Clactonian type while the other seems to be a point showing proto-Levalloisian workmanship. The collection from Bangriposi includes one pebble chopper whose chopper like form is due to the presence of the naturally flat pebbly surface. The technique of its production was almost identical with that of the hand-axes. Solitary cleaver of Bangriposi had a V-shaped butt-end and a straight cutting edge. Its parallelogram like cross-section recalls the Vaal technique. If for Leakey the East African hand-axe (biface) has evolved from pebble tools of the Oldowan age, then the general sequence of tools in Mayurbhanj appears to the authors to be from crude choppers and hand-axes on pebbles to finer bifaces and cleavers.

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Dr. John Maringer of Nanza University, Japan, has reported in *Man*, Vol. LVII (January, 1957) about his finding of 'Some Stone Tools of Early Hoabinhian Type from Central Japan'. He derives the beginning of the Japanese past from the Asiatic mainland directly

or by the passage over the archipelago in the south or the north or both. The palaeolithic man could have entered Japan in the early and the middle Pleistocene periods only because the land connexions or land bridges occurred during these periods. In the entire following periods until the end of the Pleistocene and even the post-Pleistocene the development was mere insular. The earliest, or pre-Jomon (non-ceramic) industries of Japan exhibit some peculiar traits because Japan was for a long time separated from the mainland.

The site is located on the south-western slope of the Gongenyama hill. The sedimental layers in the descending order are as follows :

1. Humus or black earth mixed with loam (40 cms.);
2. soft yellowish brown loam (40 cms.);
3. Hard Yellowish loam (60 cms.);
4. Dark brown clay (40 cms.);
5. Volcanic mud with andesite blocks (about 4 metres);

The finds described were gathered from the lower border of the loam bed. 18 stone tools have been collected from Gangenyama III, in Central Japan. They can be classified into pebble tools (2), hammer-stones or fabricators (1), cores or nuclei (2), flakes and flake tools (10). A unanimous opinion about the geological age of this formation has not yet been reached by scholars. The opinions today range from attributing the whole loam to the Plesistocene to placing the pleisto-holocene border somewhere in the loam formation. Dr. Maringer holds that 'all evidences now available point to a geological age for the site Gongenyama III near to the pleisto-holocene border, or at least, to an early postpleistocene'.

Dr. Maringer finds a striking resemblance between the two Gangenyama pebble tools and a variant of the typical Hoabinhian stone implement, the socalled Sumatra type which is a uniface tool made by flaking an oval pebble on one side only. The Hoabinhian, a Mesolithic industry, is known from a wide area comprising Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, and Sumatra. Another typical feature of Hoabinhian assemblages is the presence of pounding and grinding stones. This also occurs in the small assemblage from Gongenyama. Mr. Maringer postulates some latent relation between this proto-neolithic industry of south-eastern Asia and the pre-Jomon industry of Central Japan because the typological resemblance is evident, and the contemporaneous occurrence as well as the possible geographical connexion cannot be denied.

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Science of population genetics has opened a new era for cooperative research between cultural and physical anthropologists. The paper 'Micro-evolution in a Human Population' by Bertram S. Kraus

and Charles B. White in the American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, No. 6 with its fruitful conclusions is another step forward to encourage such cooperation. The data were gathered on Fort Apacha Indian Reservation in Arizona to study the social endogamy and blood type distribution among the western Apacha. Certain aspects of social structure and demography were defined; they described the population studied in terms of family, clan, phratry and band organisation. Blood groups of seven hundred and *Rh* determination of three hundred and eighty-one individuals was done from three bands.

Analysing some current and historic marriage records they show that bands are endogamous and within the band random mating occurs. They find 'band interbreeding is apparently too infrequent to constitute a significant source of inflowing genes. The size of bands within historic times has been too great for genetic drift to have operated as an effective evolutionary agent'. For the past three generations, the difference between bands in blood gene frequencies has existed in a relatively constant state and they arose in prehistoric times when the band sizes were sufficiently small for the effective operation of genetic drift. Their opinion is 'that the present frequency distributions are more or less those that characterised the same bands over 150 years ago. The only factors that might have intervened to disrupt this picture—inter-marriage with non-Apacha peoples of markedly different genetic constitution, or genetic drift—may be ruled out'.

Considering the side issues emerging from this study it is suggested that interests and techniques of both physical and social anthropology should be combined and demonstrated, as demographic and quantitative marriage data of the type are needed for research.

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Prof. M. N. Srinivas' presidential address to the Anthropology and Archaeology section of the 44th Indian Science Congress is on 'Caste in Modern India'. He has marshalled evidence to show that a number of forces during the British rule in India set off a process which resulted in making the caste a very powerful system. Much more powerful than it ever was before. The pre-British political system with small units had always imposed severe limits to the horizontal extension of caste ties. The introduction of cheap printing, newspapers, and other means of communications made caste conferences, organisations and their periodic vehicles of thought possible. No less determining was the British policy of divide and rule, worked through giving preferences to lower castes. Why the increase in social mobility as a result of greater economic mobility did not cause a disintegration of the caste system? The traditional process of

'Sanskritisation' prevented that. In the post-independence period the democratic political system has further entrenched caste system and made it a very active and powerful faction in polities, as well as social matters. To prove this point evidence has been adduced from all the important linguistic regions of South India. Miss M. Patterson's conclusions from Maharashtra have been drawn upon. Andhra evidence has been taken from Mr. S. S. Harrison's paper. The polities of Madras, Mysore and Kerala, too, has been analysed. The discussion about North, Bihar, U.P. and the Punjab, the states that figure, is very sketchy. The conferring of vast powers to panchayats will place great temptations before dominant castes to use them for their own good at the expense of other dependant castes. In the end he poses the question whether the present system of constitutional safeguards and classification of backward castes might not itself perpetuate the evil that the Constitution is out to uproot. This deserves the attention of social scientists as well as administrators. So, some neutral indices of backwardness should be evolved and these should include scheduled castes and tribes.

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F. Barth's starting point in 'Ecological Relationships of Ethnic groups in Swat, N. Pakistan' (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 58, 1956) is that the culture area concept, as developed in N. America, is inadequate in Asia, since the distribution of cultural types, ethnic groups and natural areas rarely coincide here. On the other hand, the ethnologists encounter the presence of several ethnic groups having varying degrees of economic interdependence. As this situation is analogous to that of different animal species in a habitat some concepts of animal ecology and a consideration of all ecological details can be more useful than culture area classifications. The utility of a concept of niche—the place of a group in the total environment, its relations to resources and competitions, has been successfully demonstrated. Three distinct cultural, linguistic and ethnic groups—Pathan, Kohistani and Gujar—living in the same geographical area, Swat State (North East Frontier Province) are analysed with the help of this concept of niche and detailed ecological conditions. The example shows that the type of correspondence between gross ecological classification and ethnic distribution found in the culture area documentation is rare in Asia. Coon has also lent support to this view. Here different ethnic groups establish themselves in stable co-residence in one area and exploit different ecological niches thus, having overlapping distribution and disconforming borders. They will be socially related to a variable degree. The variability may be a mere 'watchful co-residence' or a more or less symbiotic relationship.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Editor,
THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST,
Department of Anthropology,
Lucknow University,
Lucknow, India.

Dear Sir,

My attention has been drawn to a review by Mr. T. N. Madan of *Village India* (Edited by M. Marriott, Chicago, 1955) in the *Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. IX, No. 2, Dec. 1955-Feb. 1956. I should like to clear up a point of fact which he has raised in connection with my paper in that volume, *The Social Structure of a Tanjore Village*.

On page 132 Mr. Madan quotes my statement that in Kumbapettai, the punishment of lower caste offenders by Brahman landlords may include "in more serious cases, the penalty of forcing the culprit to drink a pint of cowdung or even human dung dissolved in water." Mr. Madan dubbed this as a "hasty conclusion", and writes,

"Anybody who knows Indian social life really intimately knows it well that cowdung has a purificatory value from the ritual point of view, and an ounce or two of it dissolved in water, or in a solution of milk, curd, butter and cow urine (*panchgavya*) is administered not to punish but to effect ritual purification. Eating of human dung would on the contrary produce ritual pollution. To equate cowdung with human dung seems very wrong. From whatever this reviewer knows about Indian rural life human dung is never forced down the mouth of a man as a punishment. Euphemistic expressions like 'he has taken human dung' are used when a person is reported to have made blasphemous utterances. Foreign investigators should check their data and verify their conclusions before they run to the printing press."

I worked in Kumbapettai for one year, and during that time two cases occurred (one of theft and one of physical violence to a landlord) in which lower caste men were forced to drink cowdung as a punishment. The first of these cases is reported in my paper, *The Social Structure of a Tanjore Village*, in *India's Villages* (Edited by M. N. Srinivas, West Bengal Government Press, 1955, p. 87). When I first heard of this practice as a regular penalty for offenders I too, like Mr. Madan, assumed that this was a form of administration of *panchgavya* to effect purification from ritual pollution. Upon enquiry, however, it became clear that this was not the case. The Brahmins themselves do have the custom of imbibing *panchgavya* in its normal form (a mixture of very small quantities of dung, urine, milk, curds and butter of the sacred cow). This is done at the termination of death-pollution. The forcible administration of a much

larger quantity of cowdung and water to a lower caste culprit is, however, at least today, regarded in a different way. When I questioned the Brahmans about the reason for this practice, several told me that it was "to punish" and "to humble" the offender, and not to purify him. This becomes understandable when we consider that the offences for which such persons are punished are secular offences (theft, insubordination, rowdyism etc.) and not ritual offences against the religious laws of the caste concerned (*e.g.*, adultery, wrongful interdining, etc.). These latter offences were traditionally judged by the lower caste's own assembly and penalized by fines or, in grave cases, temporary or permanent excommunication.

It was while I was discussing the practice of cowdung administration with a small group of Brahmans that one of them remarked, "Sometimes in extreme cases we may even force them to drink human dung." This remark led to the relation of the following case, which took place in Kumbapettai fifteen years ago.

A Poosari (village temple priest of a Non-Brahman caste) and a Barber one night visited the house of an Agambadiyan widow of doubtful reputation. A Potter and two Cowherds saw them enter and, as a joke, bribed a Pallan (an Adi Dravida or Harijan) to beat both as they left the house, which he did. The head of the Poosari family (a "specialist" who served the village at large and thus had no particular landlord as master) next day reported the matter to one of the oldest, wealthiest and most respected Brahmans, who assembled all the Brahmans and the disputants. The Brahman leader summoned Parayan village servants, caused them to bind the Pallan culprit to a coconut tree, and forced him to drink a quantity of human dung mixed in water, which was said to be one of the harshest punishments for offences by Adi Dravidas. All the Brahmans beat the Potter and the two Cowherds with sticks, forced them to drink cowdung mixed in water, and fined each one hundred rupees. The Brahman leader gave two blows each to the Poosari and the Barber and lectured them on the loss of dignity suffered by village servants found guilty of sexual misdemeanours.

My Brahman informants explained that in this case, the Pallan suffered an extremely humiliating and rare punishment, for he was a very low caste man guilty of physical violence towards a man of higher caste. The Potter and the Cowherds suffered somewhat lighter punishments, for they were of similar ritual rank to the Poosari and of higher rank than the Barber. They were however at fault for having engineered the attack on the Poosari, who as a public servant of the village and a temple priest enjoyed the special patronage of the Brahmans.

I recorded no other case of the administration of human dung during my stay in Kumbapettai, and it is clearly a rare event. I

did, however, in the second year of my fieldwork, hear of it as a customary although rare punishment in several other villages in different parts of Tanjore.

I have, altogether, carried out fieldwork for forty-two months in South India, living for long periods in villages and using the native languages. From my knowledge of the "normal" polarity of Hindu attitudes to cowdung and human dung in connection with beliefs in ritual purity and pollution, I can easily understand Mr. Madan's sense of surprise in reading of this Tanjore custom. But it is well known that detailed investigation during fieldwork often reveals facts which surprise even those who previously thought that they had an intimate acquaintance with the culture. I should like to suggest that Mr. Madan would have done well to check my report carefully with a number of Tanjore villagers before he hastened to accuse a foreign investigator of negligence in the reporting of data.

Yours faithfully,
E. KATHLEEN GOUGH

THE REVIEWER REPLIES:—

Copy of Dr. E. Kathleen Gough's letter reaches me, through the courtesy of the Editor, while I am engaged in field-work in a remote village in the Kashmir Valley. The letter clarifies, by specifying the details, the unusual mode of punishment, consisting of forcing a culprit to drink human dung dissolved in water, mentioned in Dr. Gough's paper in *Village India*, I do not have with me, here in the field, my copy of *Village India* so that I could read over again Dr. Gough's paper in the light of her rejoinder. As it is I can fall back only upon my very brief quotation from Dr. Gough's paper, contained in my review, a copy of which I luckily find in my file, and upon Dr. Gough's letter.

"My quotation reads, ‘‘.....in more serious cases, the penalty of forcing the culprit to drink a pint of cowdung or even human dung dissolved in water,.....’’. And Dr. Gough, quoting the same sentence in her letter prefaces it with these words: ‘‘.....Mr. Madan quotes my statement that in Kumbapettai, the punishment of *lower caste* offenders by Brahmin landlords may include.....’’. The italics are mine.

"From the above two quotations it is obvious that Dr. Gough does not specify as clearly in her paper, as she does in her letter, that the culprit who is forced to drink human dung is, in the single instance of which she has the details, and which she relates in her

letter, an Adi-Dravida, *i.e.*, a very low caste man. The other culprits in the dispute, a Poosari priest, two cowherds, a potter and a barber, are not, Dr. Gough tells us, forced to drink human dung but punished in other ways. This clearly reveals that not *any* lower caste culprit can be forced to drink human dung. This is a very significant differentiation which Dr. Gough's paper, so far as I can recall, does not clearly bring out. In no part of India, and particularly in no orthodox Brahmin dominated area, could human dung be eaten by anybody, except members of the lowest 'unclean' castes, without becoming polluted and 'unclean'. Dr. Gough misses to make this significant point.

I also wish the rarity of the occurrence had been as clearly indicated in the paper as it has been done in the letter. (In this connection I may add that I consulted a prominent social scientist from South India—I regret I do not know any Tanjore Brahmin whom I could have contacted as suggested by Dr. Gough—before writing my review, and he confessed his ignorance of such a mode of punishment.) We are told to generalize on the basis of the repetitive and the recurrent.

For the rest I agree with Dr. Gough's observations, particularly those regarding the surprises which field work throws up, and which indeed are among its major rewards and relishes. The subtle distinctions between cow-dung inbibed in a small quantity to remove ritual pollution and cow dung forced down a culprit's gullet in quantity to 'humble' and punish him for secular offences is a significant one; and we are grateful to Dr. Gough for it, as we are for her published work of a high standard on Malabar and Tanjore.

T. N. MADAN

VTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL & ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES AT PHILADELPHIA

At the invitation of the American Anthropological Association, the fifth session of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences was held at Philadelphia in the first week of September, 1956. This was the first time that the Congress met in the Western Hemisphere in which six hundred delegates from sixty-one nations participated. For the first time also, the Russian anthropologists attended the Congress as the delegates of the Institute of Ethnography, U.S.S.R.

The Congress Programme consisted of opening session, scientific sessions, general sessions, presentation of ethnographic films, receptions, meetings of the Permanent Councils, and of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. There were

four general sessions each one on Ethnology, Physical Anthropology, Prehistory, and on Typology in Anthropology; and fifty-five scientific sessions on different branches of Anthropology in which about 200 papers were read and discussed. Each session was held under two chairmen.

In the General sessions the leaders of different schools and fields of specialisation were invited to give their papers. The general session on Ethnology commenced with the paper of Rymond Firth on British Anthropology which was followed by Robert Heinen-Gelden on the recent Trend in European Anthropology. Dr. Potekin of the Institute of Ethnography, Moscow, making an appraisal of ethnographic works in Russia opined that Ethnography mainly deals with tribal studies and is a branch of History.

Ralph Beals of California University basing his arguments on the types of dissertations written in the American Universities, attempted to trace the recent trends in American Ethnology and pointed out the increasing interests of the students of Anthropology in comparative, analytical and theoretical ethnological researches.

In the general session on the Physical Anthropology, Schultz presented his paper on the Significance of Recent Primatology for Physical anthropologists.

Spuhlar threw light on the recent developments on Genetics, while Weinert examined the Bearing of the Piltdown and Swanscombe Investigation on our Present Understanding of Human Evolution. The General Session on Prehistory was specially interesting. Prof. R. J. Braidwood presented his finding from the excavation in Western Asia. Rouse talked about the recent trends in American Archaeology while Gjessing presented his paper on the recent works on European prehistory.

The Sectional meetings were mainly divided into Prehistory, Physical Anthropology, Archaeology, Ethnography, Acculturation, Applied Anthropology, Agricultural Anthropology, Religion, Linguistics, Museology, etc. A large number of important papers were read and discussed among which Herskovits' paper on Cultural Relativism, Margaret Mead's Paper on Theory of Cults, Survival and Culture Change, Sol Tax's Paper on Acculturation, Potekin's Paper on Clan Relation in the African Villages, Eggan's Paper on social and cultural changes in the North American Indian Lineage, Bidney's Paper on Myth and History in Anthropological Theory deserve special mention.

There were several papers on India and a fairly big team of anthropologists was interested in Caste Dynamics and Tribal Cultures of India. Dr. Mandelbaum of Berkeley, California, presented a paper on Caste System Among the Nilgiri Tribes, and Furer Haimendorf of London University gave an interesting paper on Inter-caste Relationship in Nepal. Prince Peter of Greece read his paper on Calf

Sacrifice of the Todas of the Nilgiris. Mr. L. P. Vidyarthi read his findings on the Dynamics of Culture Change among the Birhor of Ranchi. A film on the Abor of Assam was also shown. A number of anthropologists were expected from India but only a few attended.

It was decided to hold the VIth session of the Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences at Paris, France, in 1960.

(Report by Mr. L. P. Vidyarthi, Chicago University)

BOOK REVIEW

THE PERSONALITY OF INDIA. BENDAPUDI SUBBARAO. FOREWORD BY SIR MORTIMER WHEELER. BARODA, M.S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, 1956. XII, 135 PP. MAPS, CHARTS, FIGURES, PLATES. RS. 15/-.

In the author's own words this essay "attempts a rational and objective approach to the problem of the development of material culture in India, with the object of clearing the decks for further study" (p. vii). And Subbarao makes the attempt of undertaking a study of the various cultural regions of India, over time, with the purpose of correlating the physical and cultural regions of the country. The author seeks to show that differential cultural development as between the various cultural regions of the country is mainly due to, and explicable in terms of the peculiar complex of geographical and ecological factors operative in each region.

Subbarao's method is the analysis of archaeological findings and excavated materials belonging to Indian pre- and proto-history. These analyses are attempted not only to demarcate and identify cultural regions and the growth of material culture therein, but also to correlate various regions by certain associated objects.

His method makes it imperative for the author to point out the inadequacy of the type of archaeological research carried on in India at present, a point also stressed by Wheeler in his forward. This has been mainly 'vertical' digging, neglecting, 'horizontal' correlation, and even advanced studies in chronology and stratigraphy. And for the purpose of 'horizontal' digging, the author is of the opinion that horizontal plotting of cultural zones, in India, across the lines of vertical development is going to be a very difficult job, as 'horizontal' expansion has been intimately influenced, speeded up and retarded by the pliability or insurmountability of geographical barriers. In fact, the main theory underlying this essay, and according to this reviewer, its main merit is the emphasis on the role of geographical and ecological factors in the differential cultural development of the country and in the fixing of the zonal boundaries. The author's contribution is enunciated as a classification of the various regions of the country into three types: the areas of attraction, relative isolation, and isolation. The areas of attraction have been the "perennial nuclear regions" which have harboured higher cultures. In these areas cultural development has been continuous and smooth. The areas of isolation or refuge, the *cul de sacs*, have been most hostile to cultural development. In between these types are the areas of relative isolation. "Accepting this fundamental

concept of (the three types of) areas....., the whole pattern of development of material culture can be defined as one of horizontal expansion of the higher cultures, leading to a displacement, contraction and isolation of the lower cultures in different parts of the country, at different periods, and at different cultural levels" (p. 6).

In view of the author's "fundamental concept", the value of the communication system of the country comes in for due emphasis.

The essay is divided into eight chapters: Introduction, Geographic Factors in Indian Archaeology, Terminology, Chronology, Prehistory, Proto-historic and Early Historic periods, Tribal India or Areas of Isolation, and Conclusion.

The essay being of a tentative nature, one cannot have a final opinion on it. It is a useful, and suggestive study. It not only clarifies the present position of archaeological research in India by focussing on its inadequacies, but also provides useful clues for future research.

The only criticism this reviewer has to make is about the title of the essay. In the first instance, it is likely to give the would-be reader a wrong impression that the book is a national character study. In the second instance, the essay, in its present provisional and brief form, does not justify the title. The format of the book makes it rather inconvenient to handle.

M.L.

MAN IN THE BEGINNING : THE STORY OF OUR OWN ORIGINS BY WILLIAM HOWELLS. LONDON, G. BELL & SONS LTD., 1956. 384 PAGES WITH NUMEROUS FIGURES. RS. 18.75-.

The book under review is the first British edition of Howells' by now well-known *Back of History* published in the U.S.A. in 1954. The title of the book is fully indicative of its contents—20 chapters (beginning with "The coming of mankind" and ending with "Egypt, Crete and the beginnings of Europe") grouped under six headings. These are: The Nature of Human Life, The Old Hunters—First Step, The New Farmers—The Second Step, The New World, and Cities and Bronze—The Third Step.

Unlike Coon's *The Story of Man*, published in America about the same time as Howells' book, the book under review is not brought down to our own time (obviously since it deals with the 'back of history), nor is it as detailed and technical. Also unlike Coon's book it is almost entirely non-controversial. I write 'almost entirely' because, to take a single instance, many Indian anthropologists will disagree with Howells when he writes that a basic Negro stock originally developed in India, etc. However, these critics cannot be too carping, because Howells' well-qualified and guarded statements

are a lesson in scientific restraint. It is obvious enough that Howells is writing for the general reader and not the specialist; and his book is easily one of the best general introductions on the subject it deals with. One must in particular, praise the author's lucid and witty style, and at times a Hooton-ian humour. This humorous presentation may make the unwary reader think that he is often being treated to a feast of higher gossipery, as in the chapter of language; but he is bound to revise his opinion after a second reading. The book, though at places sketching is very well-done and parts of it, like the chapter on religion, are of first rate.

The only criticism this reviewer has to offer is, that considering that the book is meant for the general reader, the technical terms used have been too often left unexplained when first introduced. From the point of view of the general reader this is a serious drawback.

"It is a wise child that knows its own father", writes Howells in the preface. "And it is a wise father that has more than the faintest idea where we all began, and why we behave as we do". Fathers must thank Howells, for reading this book will make them wise! Wisdom has never been the privilege of children; so they may not bother their little poll about who their own fathers are, and may instead read Howells to know the source of their fathers' wisdom!

An excellent, useful, entertaining book, this.

T. N. Madan

HIMALAYAN BARBARY—By CHRISTOPH VON FURER-HAIMENDORF : JOHN MURRAY, LONDON, 1955, PP. XIV+241.

Prof. Furer-Haimendorf is well known in India for his valuable ethnographic work, among the Nagas (Naked Nagas), the Chenchus, the Reddis, and the Raj Gonds of Aditalad. The last three tribes are from Hyderabad. In all his monographs, there is abundant proof of his field competence and his wide knowledge of Indian tribal life and his sympathy for, and understanding of tribal problems, and above all, his theoretical background, which makes his description vivid and contextual. The present assignment is in the context of applied anthropology, and as he says in the author's note, 'intended to prepare the ground for the extension of administrative control over the group of little known tribes in the Indo-Tibetan borderlands, which the then government of India initiated a programme of exploration and development of the North East Frontier under the direction of J. P. Mills, then Advisor to the Governor of Assam for Tribal Areas and States. Prof. Furer-Haimendorf was assigned the Balipura Frontier Tract and he was asked to 'establish friendly relations with the unadministered hill-tribes, collect data on general country and tribal castes, and ultimately explore the upper reaches of the Suban-

siri River'. That such an important expedition could be launched without equipment one would not have believed, had not the author explained it in the preface to the Volume, and this probably makes the story of the expedition more exciting and more interesting. The account of the expedition has been detailed in 14 balanced Chapters and is rich with ethnographic information, which we did not possess of this strategic region. The most important section of the book, one can find in the Epilogue, where the socio-economic conditions of the area have been evaluated with insight and competence. The suggestion that, even a fraction of the resources spent year after year on Himalayan mountaineering ventures would suffice to put these unknown borderlands on the ethnographic map and acquaint us with population, living in complete seclusion from the modern world, is certainly topical particularly in the context of the political-economic problems, the administration is facing in the Naga country. There can be no military solution how great the steps may be, the only approach is an informed one and sympathetic handling of the aims and aspirations of the people, suddenly aware of possibilities and anxious to cash them at the bargaining counter. The book is not a traveller's account ; it evinces deep insight into human problems and is a welcome addition to our borderland literature.

E.T.

INDIA'S VILLAGES PUBLISHED BY THE DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT OF WEST BENGAL, 1955. PREFACE BY S. K. DEY AND INTRODUCTION BY M. N. SRINIVAS. 198 PP. PRICE RS. 4.50-.

The book under review consists of articles on Indian villages by M. N. Srinivas, David G. Mandelbaum, G. Morris Carstairs, Eric J. Miller, William H. Newell, Collin Rosser, Kathleen Gough, McKim Marriott, F. G. Bailey, Marian W. Smith, Jyotirmoyee Sarma and S. C. Dube. These articles, excepting the introduction by Srinivas and one of Bailey's two articles on an Oriya village, Originally appeared in *The Economic Weekly* of Bombay.

In a recent issue of *The Eastern Anthropologist* (Vol. IX, No. 2), I reviewed *Village India*, another collection of village studies published by the *American Anthropologist* in 1955. *Rural Profiles*, an *Eastern Anthropologist* publication, yet another collection of articles on Indian rural sociology appeared the same year. So also did Dube's book *Indian Village*. All these publications represent a recent interest, and a vital one, in Indian anthropology today, which is significant not only in terms of the planned rural reconstruction programmes of the Union and State Governments, but also in terms of the development and extension of the structural theory. This new interest is to be welcomed and encouraged.

A comparison between the book under review and *Village India* will be invidious and misleading. The papers constituting *Village India* were presented in first draft at a seminar at Chicago University. A unifying bond was supplied by Redfield's presentation of his viewpoint on the study of the little community, and by Milton Singer's posers regarding the unity and the representivity of an Indian village. The papers appeared in print in a revised form. They thus attained both a high academic level, as well as a similarity of content and interest. By contrast the present papers were written for the general reader in a weekly journal. They are brief sketches and represent various interests and various approaches of the various contributiors.

Speaking generally, a perusal of these papers highlights one of the most likely and dangerous of pitfalls that lies in the way of village studies by anthropologists in India, *viz.*, the danger of succumbing to puerile descriptions. The unfamiliarity and unintelligibility of more or less exotic tribal cultures and social structures is a challenge to the investigating anthropologist; he is compelled to attain a high research level by the necessity of analysis, application of theoretical hypotheses and comparisons—the prerequisites of understanding. In contrast the familiar look of peasant societies tends to conceal the complexity of their social structure. (I am writing this review while engaged in field work in a Kashmir village, and am keenly conscious of this danger of failing to reach down to the basic structural principles of a society whose language and culture seem easily intelligible on the surface). The student of the peasant society must all the time ask himself whether what he is producing is any better than what a very intelligent journalist, the visiting journalist, who spends relatively little time with the villagers he reports on, and who relies mostly on indirect sources of his information, would write up. I note with regret that several papers in the present collection fail to rise above the intelligent journalist's level of reporting.

What is required is analysis, and not description. Papers like those of, to cite only a few examples, Srinivas, Miller, Marriot, Gough, Beals, and Smith are the type that can contribute to the planning of rural reconstruction and theoretical refinement.

Srinivas in his introduction gives a useful, though brief, discussion of concept of village unity. He elaborates the concepts of horizontal and vertical units, the former within a caste spread over several villages to the latter between castes within a village. The concepts are of much help in the understanding of the functioning of caste. He also introduces the useful concept of "the dominant caste", and touches upon change. In his second paper, on social structure in a Mysore village, he, however, discusses brief caste structure only. Although he admits change into this paper as well, yet he typically

continues to regard his village as an "interdependent unit, largely sufficient".

Miller writes significantly on village structure in North Kerala in general. He dwells upon the spread of vertical unity over several villages—an interesting development of Srinivas's concept. He shows village unity to be nebulous and pleads for the examination of "the scale of social relations of all kinds over a broader area".

Marriott's article on an Uttar Pradesh village is a good example of analytical, problem-oriented ethnography. He reveals the reasons for the low state of cooperation that presently prevails among the villagers, and the consequences thereof, like, for example, the absence of a *panchayati adalat* (rural court). He shows that "greater concerted action will be achieved in the future only by a more severe unsettling of basic structures than has occurred in the past"—basic structures of narrow caste, rank-prestige group, economic group and kin group loyalties.

Beals discusses the consequences of the growth of a heterogeneous, urban-oriented middle class in a Mysore village, emphasizing the links of a village with the outside world without which it is impossible to understand the events happening within the village.

Marian W. Smith, discussing Punjab villages—her use of the term 'tribe' to denote the various sections of the Punjab people is debatable—makes the very important point *viz.*, that "the extent to which the village may be considered a single "Community" seems to me extremely limited. In terms of economic and social organization, marital ties, and religious and political organization, the structural unit is larger than the village....." A similar viewpoint is implicit in the papers of Miller, Beals, Newell and Gough. Thus is posed a very important query : are single-village studies adequate enough for the understanding of the structural and cultural peculiarities of the people of the region ? This is the same old question of representivity of single villages—how far are they representative and of what ? On the basis of the village studies available at present no definitive answer can be attempted to this question of adequacy. But the answer must be given soon.

To go back to the relative non-utility of merely descriptive studies, one may point out that the students of the peasant society are expected to analyse, in order to explain, its structural peculiarities on the specific, the particular level. The ultimate aim would be to classify types of peasant society, as also to study the problems that arise due to lack, or too much of change. The results of such studies would be embodied in a set of hueristic hypothesis and generalizations. The method of description cannot deliver those goods. Explanations cannot be attempted without the analysis of the requiredness of things and events; and the refinement of theory cannot take place

unless one is faced with problems that analysis alone can throw up. The anthropologist has to see, understand and be aware of more than what the intelligent lay-man observer, and the people studied themselves can see and understand.

In this connection it will be useful to recall what Fortes said over three years ago : "The essence of description is that observations are grouped together in accordance with their actual relationships and contexts of time and place..... The analytical method is to break up the empirical sequence and concomitance of custom and social relations and group the isolates so obtained in categories of general import..... Description cannot yield generalizations; we can arrive at generalizations only by way of analysis....." (Presidential address to Section H—Anthropology and Archaeology—of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1953).

To conclude : the book under review gives us glimpses of the diversity and similarity of Indian village life. It also reveals the important role of the investigator's personal interests in the choice of what he chooses to study. Further it represents the emergence of a new *trend* in anthropological research. This trend has yet far to go before we have a full-fledged *arrival*, an achievement to feel happy and satisfied about. These are the days of greater striving in the correct direction and in the correct manner.

T. N. Madan

INDIAN FOLK-LORE EDITED BY P. C. PAL & G. SEN. PUBLISHED BY THE EDITORS FROM CALCUTTA, 144-B, ASHUTOSH MOOKERJEE ROAD, CALCUTTA-25.

The Indian Folk-Lore is the organ of the Indian Folk-Lore Society, and its first number volume 1 has reached us. The Society as announced by the editors, was established in 1942 in Calcutta "for the purpose of collecting, recording and studying the fast perishing relics of Indian traditions and cultures." The journal promises two issues a year and its subscription is Rs. 5/- per annum, a very modest price. The Editorial Board consists of teachers of the Calcutta University and Dr. K. B. Das from Orissa, Dr. P. Datta Goswami from Assam and Mr. Ganesh Chaubey of Bihar. One wonders, if any society born in Calcutta could be by virtue of Calcutta's importance be an all India Society. The name, however, is not important, but the contents are, and it is here that the society's efforts to maintain a standard to justify the all-India character of the journal should be directed. The Society must have worked hard to produce the journal, as it took more than 15 years to own it, and the expectations must naturally be high of those who have been specialising in folk-

lore studies in the country. All that we shall say now is that the editors must put forth greater efforts to raise the standard of the communications, they publish, if they want people of other states to accept its claims. We welcome the venture, and pray for long life of the journal, and of the Society.

E.T.

NAVO HALKO, PUSHKAR CHANDRAVAKAR (POPULAR BOOK STORE, SURAT, 1956), PP. 16+257+18, PRICE : RS. 4.50-.

This collection of folk songs from Gujerat is neither regionally nor culturally defined; there are, e.g., a few songs from north Gujerat and a few from south Gujerat; and songs of the Gamits, Bhils, Chharas and Padhars are included without any logical or sociological frame of reference. The anthropologist interested in area studies or in ethnography would get very little from the songs as they are presented and prefaced.

There is a looseness in the writing, indicated among other things by tautologies and innumerable exclamatory marks, which is typical of many poets and novelists turned anthropologists and folklorists. If Gujerati is to develop any scientific vigour then such writers must exercise more caution and greater objectivity than one finds in this book.

There are a number of songs from the Gamits, which had already been published in the *Kedi* and the journal of the Gujerat Vidya Sabha more than six years back. There are some songs which are not folk-songs but inferior versification by contemporary individuals. A few pages have been utterly wasted in printing irrelevant correspondence.

One would have liked the compiler to publish a bibliography of Gujerati folk literature. In any case if the author had presented the folk-songs of a particular area he would have served the cause of folk-lore better. We would request the author to organise his material, on regional basis, to be useful.

N.T.

TABOO. FRANZ STEINNER. PREFACE BY E. E. EVANS-Pritchard. LONDON : COHEN AND WEST LTD., 1956, 154 PP. RS. 13/8.

Steinner, the social anthropologist, is an unknown name in India. But this posthumous publication, for which we have to thank Dr. Laura Bohannan, the editor, and the publishers, has made a deep impression on this reviewer, as it is bound to make on other readers, social anthropologists and all. The book leaves no doubt in one's mind that in his death at Oxford in 1952, at the early age of 44, social

anthropology suffered a heavy loss. The blurb says: "Born in Czechoslovakia and a victim of Nazi persecutions, Franz Steinner found a new home in Oxford, where he delivered the lectures, notable both for learning and wit, on which this book is based. By his death at the age of 44 social anthropology lost a man of vast reading and marked distinction of thought, little of whose work has hitherto been published in this country." His bibliography in English consists of the book under review, and two articles, one on enslavement and the Hebrew lineage system in *Man* (1954) and the other on comparative economics in *The British Journal of Sociology* (1954). All the three have been published posthumously. Evans-Pritchard tells us in the preface of Steinner's interests, besides anthropology: philosophy, semantics, Old Testament exegesis, and poetry. "He was, I am told, a considerable poet." "At the time of his death Franz Steinner was engaged in preparing for publication several anthropological treatises, a sociological study of Aristotle (of which nothing except notes have been found among his papers), a book on the sociology of Labour, which would have been his [doctoral] thesis rewritten for publication, and a critical analysis of theories of Taboo."

Dr. Steinner brings his ample critical and analytical faculties to bear upon the various theories of taboo and shows where and how these mislead. He devotes the first three chapters to tell us how 'taboo' was discovered by Capt. Cook, and how lasting have been the effects of the discovery of taboo by a European Protestant. The cultural upbringing of the first writers on the topic, Captains Cook and King, made them regard taboo with bewilderment. They found it to be mysterious, senseless and funny. They also discerned two aspects of taboo: sacredness and prohibition. Steinner shows how these early wrong notions have bedevilled all later discussion of the concept by anthropologists. Thus sacredness and prohibition have so often been distinguished as two separate aspects of taboo, whereas 'taboo' connotes both. The main cause of this error has been the absence of a suitable word in Anglo-Saxon vocabulary. In these introductory chapters Steinner gives long quotations, from Cook and King, regarding the facts of taboo situations, and bases on the same his criticism of the various anthropological theories that follow.

Steinner explains that the problem of taboo acquired its formal character in the taboo-ridden Victorian society which also tried the rationalist approach to such residual aspects of religion as the earlier Age of Reason had thought it better not to touch. The result was the labelling of the inexplicable as magic or taboo, two complementary categories.

The author devotes the next three chapters to Robertson Smith. We are told how in his study of theological problems, of the Hebrew Bible, he distinguished between Christian knowledge and Christian

belief, between spirituality and pre-theological, crude religious attitudes. The concept of 'survivals' is thus introduced; and whatever Robertson Smith thinks to be incompatible with the spirit of Hebrew religion is explained away as survivals from primitive superstition in which fear of contagion is said to give rise to taboos—the lowest form of superstition'. In advanced religions we have rules of holiness, Robertson Smith tells us. Steinner's contribution lies in pointing out the erroneous assumptions of Robertson Smith. If the primitive can co-exist with the refined, so may the primitive harbour the refined. Contact conveys impurity and danger; it also conveys blessings, *but* there is no avoidance, Robertson Smith tells us, in the latter case. Steinner shows that positive and negative transmission are interdependent and cannot be separated. Further, Steinner emphasizes that taboos have been continuously created, and that they cannot be proved as primitive on the basis of irrationality.

Steinner next takes up Frazer and Marett, and finds the former's conception of taboo as "negative magic" less objectionable than the latter's conception of taboo as "negative mana". But he finds the views of both as no particular advance in the right direction. Writes he: "Marett belongs to those thinkers on society and religion who are responsible for the creation or maintenance of two compartments, the one containing the member of an advanced society who reasons on scientific lines with an adult and well-adapted mind, the other containing the savage, the child, the insane or unbalanced. Frazer did a good deal of work on the foundations of this dichotomy. Marett simplified it and confirmed it critically. Lévy-Bruhl, in his notions of a pre-logical mode of existence, gave the last turn to the screw. Freud, building on the same foundations, destroyed them," (110–111). An excellent résumé, this.

The author proceeds to indicate Lévy-Bruhl's contribution in the pointing out of the two main sets of taboo contexts, *viz.*, defilement-purity and transgression. This contribution notwithstanding, Lévy-Bruhl is shown to think of taboo in mystical terms as did Frazer and others.

Radcliffe-Brown's *Taboo* essay is discussed to conclude: "(1) that it is impossible to describe danger behaviour in terms of value, and (2) that one cannot describe supposedly non-human sanctions without some reference to social pressure. This result is wholly negative, but it is, I believe, rather salutary" (125).

Finally, in the last two chapters, Wundt, Freud and Margaret Mead come in for criticism. The book opens, as also ends with references to Mead's article *Tabu* in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. Mead's view of taboo, similar to Frazer's and Freud's, in its narrow conception—"prohibition against participation in any situation of such inherent danger that the very act of participation will recoil

upon the violator of the taboo"—widely publicized by text books, is convincingly dismissed by Steinner as "a quite useless category" (143).

Steinner concludes by saying that "taboo is an element of all those situations in which attitudes to values are expressed in terms of danger behaviour." He warns that "all the things discussed under the heading taboo cannot be seen in terms of a single problem." Taboo is said to express "two quite separate social functions : (1) the classification and identification of transgressions....., and (2) the institutional localization of danger, both by specification of the dangerous and by the protection of society from endangered, and hence dangerous, persons" (147).

I have given a detailed summary of the contents of the book under review to indicate the author's aim and approach, which are stock-taking and critical respectively. The book is apparently complete, but one doubts if one would say so, had the author been alive. Not only is not the discussion of the later authors discussed not so full as that of Robertson Smith—some would go so far as to maintain that Radcliffe-Brown has been almost lightly dismissed—but the positive contribution to a new theory of taboo also is not as considerable as one would wish. Therefore one deeply laments the author's death. His interests and critical faculties, amply revealed in the book under review, leave no doubt in one's mind that after completing his study of taboo, the erudite author would have turned his attention to other concepts and categories that require critical examinations and revision. That it is high time for British social anthropology to be submitted to such revision and stock-taking will be acknowledged by all. One may say Nadel's *Foundations* (1951) began this phase in British social anthropology. Just a few days before his death, in 1956, Nadel had despatched to his publisher his book on *Social Structure*, the aim of which was described in a letter to this reviewer as the adumbration of a "different" theory. At the time of his death he had already begun preliminary work on a book on the mind of primitive man, which also, one can venture to guess, would have been a stock-taking on the subject. Death stepped in again to bring to a sudden stop, the vitality and fertility of yet another lambent mind. Fortes, Firth and Leach also have contributed to this trend, and Stanner is at present engaged on a full-length evaluation and revision of theories on Ritual. Let us hope for a supplementary volume which will take ahead and complete Steinner's excellent study of *Taboo*.

The publishers have maintained their usual good standard.

T. N. Madan

THEORETICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE CULT OF MAN,
BY A. K. SARAN, IN ETHICS, VOL. LXVI, NO. 3, 1956. PP. 198-208.

Mr. A. K. Saran, of the Lucknow University, discusses one of the major emphases—"an overweening accent on the human" as he puts it—of David Bidney's *Theoretical Anthropology*. The discussion is sufficiently illustrative of what the discussant regards as the major weaknesses in Bidney's discussion of the problem of Man—of what Man is and what Man ought to be. Mr. Saran rightly takes his stand on logico-philosophical grounds. So far so good. We have no complaint against Mr. Saran's positivism; nor do we want to hold a brief for Bidney. The latter's book does disappoint one by not fulfilling all the hopes it raises, but Mr. Saran's rejection of it as without "any intrinsic merit" raises more questions than it solves.

The only purpose of this note is to point out the several amazing and erroneous statements that occur in the introductory paragraph of Mr. Saran's article, the paragraph in which Mr. Saran makes some general statements on the history and scope of social-cultural anthropology. We wonder how Mr. Saran, the scholar that he apparently is, could have crammed in so many of his wrong notions about anthropology in a single paragraph.

Mr. Saran's opening sentence: "Anthropology has reached a stage when it must look back." May we know what that stage in a science is when it may or may not look back? Constant revision, and, according to Whithead, a willingness to forget even its very own cherished first beginnings characterize all true science. Anthropology has always looked back, or else we should have still been arguing about unilinear evolution and the origins of human institutions, in the Victorian fashion, from the "intellectualist" standpoint.

Mr. Saran is wrong when he says that anthropology began as the study of primitive societies and developed into a systematic search for origins. Anthropology began as the study of the evolution of human institutions based on the accounts of primitive societies provided by explorers, missionaries and others, and not by anthropologists themselves. Tylor wrote about culture in general and about the evolution of religion and human society; Morgan too wrote on the evolution of the family, property, and state. The study of primitive societies for their own sake is a 20th century development. Today anthropology does not seek for origins; it seeks to understand preliterate societies as they are today. Mr. Saran has surely heard of the Functionalists, of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown.

Mr. Saran says, anthropology "has now completed its agenda." This is amazing. Which science ever completed its agenda? Solutions of one stage throw up problems of the next; and there are no fixed agendas in scientific research.

Mr. Saran is also wrong in maintaining that our study of rural societies and folk cultures is "merely" a "survival" from an earlier stage. We refer him to Radcliffe-Brown's *Structure and Functions in Primitive Society* (1952), Evans-Pritchard's *Social Anthropology* (1951), Warner's *The Irish Countryman* (1937), Nadel's *Anthropology and Modern Life* (1953) and his article "Understanding Primitive Peoples" published posthumously in *Oceania* (March 1956), and Redfield's *The Little Community* (1955) and *Peasant Society and Culture* (1956). Redfield sums up our stand well in this last named publication. "Today anthropology, especially American anthropology, studies just about everything human" (p. 10).

The reason Mr. Saran gives for his survival theory is that "rural societies and folk cultures are neither primitive nor "historyless'." We need not write a word in repudiation of these criteria.

Further ahead Mr. Saran writes : "But the fact that the comparative study of *primitive societies* is now over has a deeper significance" (emphasis has been supplied). What naivety ! Can Mr. Saran name one such study ? We know of none. Even Radcliffe-Brown himself did not attempt such a study; he only undertook the comparative study of an institution, of kinship. Can it be Mr. Saran is thinking of the comparative sociology of Tylor, Frazer and others of a bygone age ? The comparative method means something very different in anthropology today.

We also disagree with Mr. Saran's rather too assertive proposal that anthropology must redefine its method and scope "on a logico-philosophical instead of an empirico-historical basis." The phrase "instead of" troubles us. The empirico-historical approach should not be so hastily discarded; nor need the logicophilosophical approach wait for the exhaustion of the possibilities offered by the former approach.

E.T.



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